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NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

GENERAL EDITOR : DR. A. K. NARAIN

No. 12

EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN-TYPES
OF
NORTHERN INDIA

BY

LALLANJI GOPAL

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA
P. O. HINDU UNIVERSITY
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'Numismatic Notes and monographs' series of the Numismatic Society of India is devoted to bibliographies, coin-lists, inventories, indices, specialised essays and other useful handy material relating to Indian coins, medals, seals, and allied subjects. The present monograph is the latest number of this series.

A. K. NARAIN,
General Editor

PREFACE

My student days' fascination for numismatics was gradually transformed into a feeling of profound respect for this source of ancient Indian history, when I took up research work in economic history. The story told by coins may not be an elaborate one, it can be varied in nature and is often exact and precise. A student of economic history cannot afford to neglect numismatic studies; researchers in other fields may also find valuable data in numismatic evidence.

In a lighter vein one may say that numismatics satisfies the ego of a student of history who, in this science-crazy age, for once shakes off his complex and feels that he is handling the tools and techniques which hitherto appeared to be the monopoly of science.

When working for the Ph. D. degree of the University of London, I had an occasion to study the numismatic material of northern India in the early medieval period. I was struck by the appalling apathy of the numismatists, who often dismissed early medieval coins as of debased metal, bad workmanship and little artistic merit. Historians also found little which could make any improvement upon the picture reconstructed from other sources. May be my sympathetic interest in the early medieval coins is partially the outcome of a reaction against the pitiable neglect which these coins have suffered.

We have planned a detailed and exhaustive study of the different aspects of these coins. I have already contributed three articles to the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* dealing with (i) the coin-terms, (ii) the weight-standard of the coins and (iii) the medium of exchange, in northern India in the early medieval period. The present monograph, without claiming to be exhaustive, is a more direct study of these coins. In the first part we analyse the different coin-types, their origin, authorship and historical implications. We have reviewed the problem in our own way, but have made full use of the work already done, including some recent articles on isolated points. I express my thankfulness to these earlier workers, upon whose studies I draw. In the second part we have arranged the coin-types under the name of the issuing dynasties, for the obvious reason that it may be more useful to the students. We shall feel our efforts to be amply rewarded if the monograph removes the vague notions about the early medieval coins and prepares the ground for more intensive and exhaustive studies. We shall look forward to receiving with thanks additional information and suggestions for improvements from scholars and researchers in the field.

A preface affords space for acknowledging the help of some at least of the many people connected with a work. Prof. A.L. Basham, Prof. N. R. Ray, Prof. R. S. Sharma and Prof. K. D. Bajpai have encouraged me by their interest in the publication of this work. It has been only through the affectionate persuasion and active interest of Prof. A. K. Narain and Dr. P. L. Gupta that the present work could be completed. Shri J. P. Singh and Dr. Nisar Ahmad have looked to the printing. Shri O. P. Khaneja has prepared the plates. To them I am grateful.

LALLANJI GOPAL

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PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

INTRODUCTION

The coins of the early mediaeval period have so far not received a systematic and comprehensive analysis and study. After Cunningham's book in 1894 the only work covering all these coins is Smith's *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.* There have however been occasional discussions about some isolated points.

As against the originality, artistic excellence and wide variety in the coin-types of the Gupta period, those in our period are restricted in number and with a few exceptions there is no newness or originality about them. These types are imitations of older ones and are very crude in execution.

The main types of the period are—

(a) King and fire-altar type
(b) Standing king and seated goddess type
(c) Horseman and bull type
(d) Seated goddess type.

There are some types which retain either the obverse or the reverse device of the king and fire-altar type and hence may be described as its sub-types, e. g., Ādivarāha type, Fighting horseman type. For the sake of convenience we may discuss the Śiva and bull type also along with the King and fire-altar type.

Besides these there were some minor types of which the following deserve prominent notice—

(a) Hanumān type
(b) Lion attacking elephant type
(c) Cow suckling calf type

I

KING AND FIRE-ALTAR TYPE

Indo-Sassanian Type or Gadahiyā Coins

The characteristic type of coins circulating roughly from A.D. 500 to 1200 in Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa, U.P. and Bihar[1] is what is known as the Indo-Sassanian type. The term is applied to coins minted in India with debased imitation of the Sassanian type, especially of the device of a fire-altar on the reverse. Cunningham, Smith and other early scholars did not make any attempt to analyse the devices on these coins into their sub-varieties but were content to make a rough classification based on broad distinctions and covered different sub-varieties by describing them as rude or degraded bust of king and fire-altar. Recent discoveries and studies have indicated the possibility that a systematic analysis of these coins will yield many sub-varieties.

It is generally agreed that the Indo-Sassanian type can be traced through the Hephthalite coins to the coins of Firoz, the Sassanian king who was killed by the Hephthalites in A.D. 488.[2]

A coin illustrated by V.A. Smith[3] seems to represent an early sub-type. The figure on the obverse is not very degraded ; though there are indications of increasing stylization in the dots representing some part of his face, the bust of the king is still very marked and has some semblance of a portrait. But the fire-altar is already very rude with mere traces of attendants.

The next stage would appear to have been marked by the coins of the Uruli hoard[4]. There are still traces which

---

1. Cunningham, *ASR*, IX, p. 176. The Uruli hoard from Poona and the coins with the legend *Chhittarāja* from Thana may suggest that the type was used in some parts of the Deccan and N. Konkan–*JNSI*, VII, pp. 21f. But a solitary hoard, such as the one from Uruli, does not establish the case, as it may have been brought by a merchant or as part of booty by a Rāshṭrakūṭa captain–ibid, p. 22, f. n. 2. P. L. Gupta informs that several hoards of Gadhiyā coins are found from Gujarat and Maharashtra, but unfortunately they are not published. The Prince of Wales Museum has such coins from many sources.
2. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 47f appears a little confused when he first speaks of one class of this type as being the direct descendants of the hemidrachms of the Śaka Satraps of Surāshṭra with the fire-altar or throne in place of the original *chaitya* and then adds that on these coins even the sun and moon symbols of the Sassanian coins are retained.
3. *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 8.
4. *JNSI*, VII, pp. 20-22.

remind us of the Hephthalite coins such as the treatment of the wings of the crown[1]. Like the late Sassanian coins this type has the crescent on right and star on left of the flame. The fire-altar on the reverse is conventionalised and is suggested through lines and dots. It is figured as consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps, a short shaft, indicated by a six rayed star, and the fire-receptacle indicated by three graded steps. Two curved lines suggest the roundness of the receptacle. Three rows of dots surmounted by a small vertical mark represents the flame. The fillets decorating the shaft are represented by two slanting rows of dots on either side and by way of symmetry two similar slanting lines are directed upwards[2].

P. J. Chinmulgund has noticed that the coins from this hoard, though all bearing this design, show many variations as regards the number, thickness and design of dots[3]. He classifies these coins into three clear groups according to the figure of the helmeted head on the obverse : type (a) has a clear profile and a square jaw, and the nostril, chin and lips are clearly visible ; type (b) has a rough profile, nostril, chin and mandible are represented only by dots, and the mouth is represented only by a dot and is joined to the cheek by a line ; and type (c) represents a further degradation of the second type, and the eyebrow and the line joining mouth to cheek are absent, or very weak[4].

D. B. Diskalkar[5] describes some rare coins from the Huzur Jawahirkhana, Indore which show very little difference from the coins of the Uruli hoard and so may easily be taken to represent yet another type of the Uruli coins, or better as another stage in the degradation of the Indo-Sassanian series. The imitation of the Sassanian bust on the obverse becomes ruder still, but even now the human face can be recognised, with a high clean-shaved head, pointed long nose, thin lips and deep socketed eyes. On both sides of the head are found dots, lines and symbols. The reverse does not show much variation from the Uruli coins excepting that the short shaft is represented by the sign of multiplication (×).

On thick dumpy pieces, which are quite well-known, the devices have become so rude that it is very difficult to recognise the figures. The bust appears on the obverse surrounded by dots but it is quite unrecognisable. On the reverse the fire-altar appears but only as a rude representation with only the pedestal, shaft and fire-receptacle and not the other features found on earlier varieties.[1]

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[1] ibid, VIII, p. 158.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid, VII, p. 20.
[4] ibid.
[5] *JNSI*, VIII, p. 66 ; also *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 11-12.

The recently discovered hoard from Piplaj[2] (Ajmer-Merwara) reveals yet another sub-type of Indo-Sassanian coin. The head on the reverse of these coins is not always a crude copy of the Sassanian type but in some cases shows distinctly Indian features and a fine facial expression.[3] The reverse of these coins is different from those mentioned above. Here the fire-altar is flanked on either side by an attendant, But the representation is highly stylised, the attendants holding the lance are suggested by three vertical rows of blurred dots. The reverse would appear not to belong to a very late period, because as on the Uruli coins here also the roundness of the receptacle is indicated by two curved lines. The marks in front of the king's face have been interpreted by A. S. Altekar[4] as a legend. J. M. Unvala[5] takes these to be only traits pertaining to the extremely rough outlines of a bust facing right or as part of the obverse motif, the counterpart of the fillet on the left. Though it is well known that on some Indo-Sassanian coins some legends do appear, we feel that J. M. Unvala is right in denying any legend on the coins of the Piplaj hoard. On many of the White Hun coins[6] which are anonymous but are placed by Smith in the period of Mihirakula we have before the face of the bust a peculiar mark which Cunningham named the 'Ephthalite symbol'. Even on some of the coins of the Indo-Sassanian type we find curved marks in front of the face of the figure.[7] It appears that the marks on the coins from Piplaj are to be connected with the above-mentioned devices.

Bust With Legend Type

Śrī Vigraha coins—Another type of Indo-Sassanian coin[8] has on the obverse a rude bust of a king like that on the coins referred to above as discussed by Diskalkar. But in front of the face we have in large letters *Śrī* and below in similar letters *Vigra*(*ha*). On the reverse we have indications of a fire-altar with one attendant on each side and the letter *Sa* in the centre.

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[1] *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 13. H. de S. Shortt, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314 refers to four copper coins, probably once plated with silver, which have been hither to disregarded but are more bebased than those published so far. "They are badly struck and it is doubtful whether any trace of the head, or only the inscription, was intended to appear on the obverse."

[2] *JNSI*, VII, pp. 98 ff.

[3] ibid., p. 98. E. J. Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, pp. 119 ff) also noticed such modification of Indian elements on some Indo-Sassanian coins.

[4] *JNSI*, VII, p. 99, f. n ; ibid., VIII, p. 157, f. n. 1.

[5] *JNSI*, VIII, p. 157.

[6] *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 6-7.

[7] ibid., 11-12.

[8] ibid. 10.

Here also we can notice many sub-varieties according to the degree of debasement of the devices on the two sides of the coins. On some coins the figure on the obverse is almost non-existent with the doubtful exception of an indication on the left margin. Instead most of the space is occupied by the letters *Srī Vi* in bold characters[1]. Some other coins are generally similar to this sub-variety but have a more debased reverse[2]. Another sub-variety is represented by coins on which the characters on the obverse are so corrupt as to be hardly intelligible. On the reverse also the indeterminate marks scarcely suggest the altar[3]. On what was probably a late sub-variety the obverse reveals a mass of curved lines.[4]

Ādi-Varāha Type—The coins generally known as the *Ādi-Varāha* type[5] may be regarded as a sub-variety of the Indo-Sassanian series. The obverse of these coins has in place of the usual head of the king the figure of the Varāha incarnation of Vishṇu to right with left leg raised. On the right we find the solar wheel. There are indistinct marks also at the bottom and the left border of the coins which are described by Cunningham[6] as being respectively a small lion and a trident. Smith[7] does not take any notice of these marks. The marks on the left may be interpreted as traces of the original circle on the borders of the coin. On the reverse we have in bold characters the legend *Śrīmadādi Varāha* in two lines. Below are marks reminiscent of the Sassanian fire-altar with two attendants and on the left the crescent and star. As the coins of this type are usually small, the device on them is generally imperfect and the original complete form can be reconstructed by comparing several examples.[8]

There are some coins on which the device is very rude, which suggests that copies of this sub-variety were made long after the time of their original minting.[9]

V. V. Mirashi[10] suggests that the prototype for the figure of boar on these coins is to be found on the reverse of the coins with a cow suckling a calf and the legend *Vatsadāmanārāyaṇa* on its obverse.[1]

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[1] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 17.
[2] *CCIM*, I, p. 239, no. 3.
[3] ibid, no. 4.
[4] ibid, no. 8.
[5] ibid, Pl. XXV. 18.
[6] *CMI*, p. 54.
[7] *CCIM*, I, p. 241, no. 1.
[8] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 21.
[9] *CCIM*, I, pp. 241f.
[10] *IHQ*, XVIII, pp. 72-73.

V.S. Agrawala[2] found coins with the obverse containing the standing figure of a Varāha similar to that found on the *Ādi-varāha* coins and the reverse having the legend *Śrī Vināyaka-pāladeva* arranged in three lines.[3]

Bust with obverse legend—Some coins can be placed in separate sub-varieties on the basis of the legends appearing on them. Cunningham has illustrated a coin with the obverse having the head of a king and the letter *Ja* in front of the face and the reverse containing the rude figure of a fire-altar with attendants.[4] On another coin with the above mentioned devices we find *Śrī* over the head of the figure of the king and *Ha* before his face.[5] But the marks in these cases may better be described as imitations of marks which appear on Sassanian coins.

This is, however, not to deny the occurrence of legends on coins with Indo-Sassanian type. Four silver coins of the Indo-Sassanian type from Gwalior have the legend *Śrī Dāman.*[6] R. L. Samar[7] reports the discovery of some coins of the Indo-Sassanian type on which there are in front of the king's face legends such as *Śrīla...*, *Śrīhara*, *Śrīga...*, *Śrivara* and *Śribha...*

Bust with reverse legend—On some of the coins of the Indo-Sassanian type from north Koṅkaṇa we have on the reverse the legend *Śrī Chhittarāja-deva.*[8] H. V. Trivedi[9] illustrates some coins, single specimens of which were published earlier by Bhagwanlal Indraji[10] and A. S. Altekar,[11] to which class belong some coins catalogued by V. A. Smith.[12] The obverse of these coins have the usual degraded bust of the king to right within dotted borders. On the reverse the legend in bold characters is *Śrī Oṃkāra*[13] ; but above these letters we can see in one case the lines representing the pedestal of the fire-altar[1] for which there is no space on other specimens.

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[1] *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 123ff; *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fifth Series, XVII (1937), p. 99.

[2] *JNSI*, X, p. 28. See also *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 240.

[3] As the coins are small and irregular no single coin has the full legend or the full figure. But there remains no doubt if we piece together the letters and different parts. The figure of boar is very clear on *JNSI*, XXVI, Pl. IV. 6, 10.

[4] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 19.

[5] ibid, 14.

[6] *ARASI*, 1913-14, pp. 255ff.

[7] *JNSI*, VIII, p. 157, f. n. 1.

[8] Yazdani (Ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 805.

[9] *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 205 f.

[10] *JBBRAS*, XII, p. 328.

[11] *JNSI*, XI, p. 58.

[12] *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 14-16.

[13] *JNSI*, XIII, Pl. IX. 6. On one coin (ibid, IX. 7) we find only *Oṃ* as there is no space for any other letter. Smith (*CCIM*, I, p. 241, nos. 19-21) reads it as *Śrī-Kā* or *Śri-Kāda*.

Here also a systematic analysis can yield many sub-varieties. This can be easily realised by a cursory view of the obverse of the three specimens illustrated by Smith.[2]

Fighting Horseman Type

Another type which may be associated with the Indo-Sassanian series has been noticed by D. B. Diskalkar[3] on some coins in the Huzur Jawahirkhana, Indore.

The obverse of these coins is after the usual device on the Indo-Sassanian coins and has a number of lines and symbols around the unrecognisable head. But in place of the fire-altar we have on the reverse the figure of a horseman fighting with his sword raised over his head against two foot-soldiers, one of whom is fighting desperately from the front while the other is fallen. A third foot-soldier, only whose lower portion from the thighs downwards is to be seen, appears to be attacking the horseman from behind and is probably holding a bow and a long spear ; or he may be the horseman's attendant. A big circle on the top probably stands for the moon. A dotted circle, partly visible on some coins, was intended to serve as the border for the device depicted.

No single coin contains all the details of this scene. We can classify this type into many sub-varieties according to the number of foot-soldiers depicted on them, the posture of the rider and the position of the two foot-soldiers fighting with him.[4]

Cunningham illustrates an Indo-Sassanian coin which has a rude head to right on the obverse, and reads the legend on the reverse as *Śrī Somala Deva.*[5] Some other coins with the same legend have on the obverse the figure of a crude

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1. *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXV. 16.
2. ibid, 14-16.
3. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 66-68.
4. J. M. Unvala (*JNSI*, VIII, p. 67, f. n. 1) seeks the origin of this reverse type in the Sassanian bas-reliefs of Shapur and Naqshe Rustam. But Altekar correctly points out (ibid) that the motif is so common that it could have been independently conceived as well.
5. *CMI*, Pl. VI. 10. Coin no. 494 in the hoard described by H. de S. Shortt, op. cit, p. 313 is of Somala Deva overstruck by Qutbu'd-dīn Aibak, who was killed in 1210. He thinks that Muhammad bin Sam copies this coin of Somala, and, therefore, suggests that Somala ruled in north-west India towards the end of the twelfth century. Prinsep, *Essays*, I, Pls. XXV. 9-13; XXVII. 17, p. 364 restored the name as Sāmantapāladeva or Sāmaladeva. But Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 121 rightly corrected the reading as Śrī Somaladevī or Śrī Somaladevī.

horseman to right[1] or a horseman galloping to left[2], most likely copied from the Shāhi coins of Ohind. But the reading on the coins is *Śrī Somaladevī* who is to be identified with Somalekhā the queen of the Chauhān king Ajayarāja.[3]

In order to complete our account of the coins of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Malwa and U. P. we may include here another type which, though unrelated to the Indo-Sassanian series, on the ground of types has affinities in shape, size and metal. On these coins[4] the figure of a horseman to right appears on the obverse, and the reverse has the figure of a prostrate man lying on his stomach with the legend *Śrī Tri-vi* above the figure. Cunningham[5] suggests that the legend is intended for *Śrī Trivikrama,* a title of Vishṇu referring to the three steps he took in his incarnation as Vāmana. In that case the prostrate man may signify the demon king Bāli.

Śiva and Bull Type—In connection with the Indo-Sassanian series we may mention some types which reveal slight changes introduced into the typically Indo-Sassanian devices.

One such type has on the obverse the figure of Śiva and his bull and on the reverse a very rude representation of a fire-altar with an attendant on each side.[6] On some coins which may be taken to represent sub-varieties of this type we have in place of the two attendants, a wheel to left and an attendant to right[7] or an attendant to left and *Bala* in monogram to right[8] or merely a trident to right.[9] Another sub-variety can be seen in coins having on their reverse the fire-altar with the legend *Rudra*.[10] Some coins with the Śiva and bull device drift away from the Indo-Sassanian series in that the reverse has in place of the usual fire-altar a trident with the syllable *Tri* which may stand for Śiva as Trilochana or Tripurāntaka.[11] Smith[12] describes many coins with Śiva and bull on the obverse with the reverse having the legend *Kota,* or *Śruta* (also read as *Ghuta* or *Ata*) or sometimes a trident and other marks which he considers as possibly an echo of the Sassanian device.

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[1] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 11.
[2] ibid, 12.
[3] See infra "Coins of Chāhamānas" under Section V—Dynasties adopting Bull and horseman and seated goddess types.
[4] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 22.
[5] ibid, pp. 54-55.
[6] ibid, VI. 6.
[7] ibid, 4.
[8] ibid, 3.
[9] ibid, 5.
[10] ibid, 2.
[11] ibid, pp. 48f.
[12] *CCIM*, I, pp. 258, 264.

The Śiva and bull device in itself may be regarded as copied from the coins of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva.

Attribution—In popular usage *gadhaiyā* or *gadhiyā* is used to signify base silver or copper coins with rude imitation of Sassanian bust and meaningless lines or curves on the obverse and lines and dots suggesting the Sassanian fire-altar with or without attendants on the reverse.

Sometimes it is used for the Indo-Sassanian coins in general, while at others it refers to those of Rajasthan and Gujarat in particular. V. A. Smith[1] classifies the *gadhaiyā* currency of Rajasthan and Gujarat into three groups—flat coins, thick transitional pieces and thick dumpy pieces. The term is sometimes restricted to thick dumpy pieces among the Indo-Sassanian coins.

D. R. Bhandarkar[2] restricts the term to copper coins, using *dramma* for the silver class. It is interesting to learn from the *Upakeśagachchhapaṭṭāvalī* that the term *gadahiyā mudrā* was used in the early medieval period. The reference however speaks of it as being a silver currency.[3]

The origin of the term is obscure. Cunningham[4] conjectured that it is to be connected with the throne (*gadi*) on the reverse. But the suggestion is untenable, not only because the device on the reverse is a fire-altar and not a throne, but also because the term is *gadahiyā*, *gadhaiyā* or *gadhiyā* and not *gadiya*.

G. P. Taylor[5] convincingly derives the name from the Sanskrit *gardabhiya* meaning assinini (of the Ass dynasty). According to him the Sassanian king Varahrān V (A.D. 419-438) gained the nick name of Varahrān Gūr or Bahrām the Ass-Hunter from his devotion to the chase of the wild ass. When the coins of this king began to circulate amongst his enemies, the Hūṇas, they may have humorously dubbed his thin insignificant looking coins as 'Ass-money'. Later on when the Hūṇas themselves struck coins in India imitating the same Sassanian type the old name survived in some Prakrit form of the Sanskrit equivalent *gardabhiya* which may have appeared to possess every justification with the degraded workmanship of the Indo-Sassanian coins[6].

In a recent article C. H. Biddulph[7], makes some improvements upon the view of G. P. Taylor and suggests that the name

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[1] Ibid., pp. 249f.

[2] *LIN*, p. 207.

[3] *JNSI*, XX, p. 18–*Jvalitāni chhagaṇāni rūpyamayāni bhavanti tato tena rūpyena gadahiyā-mudrā pātitā.*

[4] *CMI*, p. 47

[5] *JASB*, 1904, p. 372.

[6] The linguistic connection is striking, but the explanation seems rather far-fetched.

[7] *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 170-76.

Gadhiya was originally connected with the coin noticed earlier by R. B. Whitehead[1] who, however, failed to describe it correctly. The obverse of these coins contains a standing human figure either headless or with only part of a head. According to Biddulph the figure on the reverse is that of a "poorly drawn donkey, with its long narrow head and equally, long ears, the rope like tail and spindly legs" and represents the 'Ghor-Khar' or 'Baluchi Wild Ass' (Equus Onager Indicus) "which occurs in Baluchistan and the deserts of West India; or its relatives which are found in West Central Asia and Persia". B. N. Mukherjee reads three letters on the reverse as *Gu-Ra-Ya* in Brāhmī characters which according to Biddulph represent 'Gor' or 'Gūr', the name of the wild ass. Biddulph holds that these coins were issued by the White-Huns during the period when relations between them and the Sassanians were strained. "The donkey appearing on them could have been used as a canting badge and the coins issued in a derisory way by the Huns and referred to the Sassanian rulers of the 'Ass dynasty' ". Biddulph is inclined to believe that these coins were issued about the time of Bahram V (A. D. 419-438) and Yezdegerd II (A. D. 438-457) "and not as late as in the reign of Firoz I" (A. D. 459-484). He prefers the suggestion that these coins "may have been issued shortly after the Huns invaded India and came up against the Sassanian dynasty, or a dynasty acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia, which was established in Western India." "The tendency would have been to associate the Indo-Sassanians with the 'Ass dynasty' with which the Huns had been in conflict." Biddulph thus holds that "these early coins must have been called 'Gadhiya' paisas" and that "the name in course of time became a generic title for all coins in that part of India."

We however feel that Biddulph has not been able to prove that the coins in question were the original Gadahiya coins. The figure on the reverse is no doubt that of an animal, but it is not certain that it is a donkey. So far as the legend *Gu-Ra-Ya* is concerned, we admit that we are not able to trace any of these letters on the specimens illustrated by Biddulph. In order to avoid difficulties that may arise from the distance in time and space Biddulph very cleverly suggests that these coins were struck by the Huns in India after they had come up against the Sassanian dynasty, or a dynasty acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia, which was established in Western India. This would require us to assume many facts. The earliest Hūṇa invasion of India cannot be dated much earlier than A.D. 455, because assuming the identity of the Hūṇas of the Bhitari inscription with the Mlechchhas of the Junagadh inscription we may infer that the Hūṇas had been defeated by A.D. 457. But Biddulph's suggestion requires a Hūṇa invasion earlier about the time of Bahram V and Yezdegerd II, unless, to suit the convenience of his thesis, the invasion is placed in the closing years of the reign of Yezdegerd II. Again, Biddulph assumes without proving the point that Western India was under the Sassanian dynasty or else a dynasty acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia ruled there. It is further more difficult to accept that the Hūṇas who very recently were in conflict with the Sassanians in Persia could have confused between the Indo-Sassanians and the Ass Dynasty. Even if we admit all these points we cannot agree with the suggestion that the donkey on the coins was used as a canting badge. Numismatic history cannot support it by citing parallels. Conquerors are known to have restruck the coins of the defeated kings or to have adopted the coin-type circulating in the area. If the Hūṇas wanted to proclaim their victory they would have adopted a regular coin-type or symbol of the Sassanians. We do not know if in the earlier period the Sassanians had adopted the Ass as a symbol of their dynasty. In any case, if the Ass was meant to refer to the Ass dynasty of the Sassanians it would have been represented as being devoured, killed, dominated or overpowered by some proper symbol of the Hūṇas; it would not have been allowed the air of independence it has.

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[1] *JASB*, 1911, N.S., XVII, no. 97.

P. L. Gupta[1] takes Gadhiya coins to be the same as *gadyāṇaka* of the epigraphs. There is no doubt some phonetic similarity between the two terms[2] but it is difficult to accept the suggestion of identity. It would appear from the large number of the Indo-Sassanian or *gadahiyā* coins that they formed the chief currency in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa areas. But the inscriptions of this region do not mention *gadyāṇakas*. On the contrary we get the impression that *drammas* were the coins most common in use.[3] *Gadyāṇakas* appear in the epigraphs of south India and the Deccan, especially the western coast. In northern India *gadyāṇakas* are mentioned in the Gāhaḍavāla grants in connection with the revenue expression *kumāragadiāṇaka*. As the Gāhaḍavālas are known to have borrowed many things from the south it is not unlikely tnat they used the name of this coin after southern examples. Again, the mathematical text *Līlāvatī*[4] employs *gadyāṇaka* to refer to a gold coin. We learn from the table in the *Līlāvatī*[5] and also Śrīdharāchārya's commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* that a *gadyāṇaka* weighed 48 *guñjas*[1] or 87.84 grains, taking a *guñjā* to be equal to 1.83 grains. The weight of the known pieces of the Indo-Sassanian or *gadahiyā* coins does not at all tally with this weight of a *gadyāṇaka*.

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[1] In his personal letter dated the 5th June, 1961.

[2] There is, however, no trace of aspirate in *gadyāṇaka*.

[3] For *gadyāṇaka* see Karnesvara Mahadeva Temple (Ratnagiri) Inscription—*Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*, XII, p. 219.

[4] p. 30 (No. 77).

[5] I. 2-4.

V. S. Agrawala[2] says that the Indo-Sassanian coins which under different devices were current in India for many centuries are called *payaṁka* in Haribhadra's commentary, which term is explained by Agrawala as a coin having the figure of a foot on it (*padāṅka*). We confess our ignorance of any Indo-Sassanian coin which contains such a figure.

The different varieties and sub-varieties may reflect regional or local differences and probably belonged to different kings or dynasties. But their investigation suffers from the initial handicap that the find-spots of coins have not been duly recorded in different cases.

V. A. Smith[3] made a rough and broad regional classification of the unassigned coinage imitating the late issues of Firoz into two—North-Western type and the Eastern or Magadha type and listed separately the Gadhaiyā currency of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Following this U. C. Bhattacharya[4] speaks of a separate Rajputana type in which he places the coins from the Piplaj hoard. But this rough classification is defective. No doubt the Magadha type of Smith is found mostly in Bihar and U. P. but his North-Western type and his Gadhaiyā coins are alike found in Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat.

That the regional classification is not only desirable but also possible need not be emphasised. Thus, the coins with Śiva and bull obverse are found largely at Rohtak between the Sutlaj and Delhi and can be easily recognised to have been the common currency of Punjab and neighbouring parts of Rajasthan.[5]

J. N. Unwala[6] takes the Indo-Sassanian coins to be degenerate specimens of the Hephthalite coinage, once current in India as far east as Rajasthan and Malwa. The known geographical distribution of the Indo-Sassanian coins makes a general case for these coins having been the issues of rulers of Rajasthan and Gujarat.[7]

The coins with legends on them clearly suggest that they were the issues of different kings. Coins with the legend

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[1] *JNSI*, XII, p. 202.
[2] *JNSI*, XII, pp. 200 f.
[3] *CCIM*, I, pp. 237ff.
[4] *JNSI*, VII, p. 99.
[5] *CMI*, pp. 48f.
[6] *JNSI*, VIII, p. 157.
[7] P. L. Gupta in his personal letter dated the 5th June, 1961.

Chhittarāja establish that the Śilāhāra dynasty also struck *gadhaiyā* pieces.[1] R. L. Samar[2] reports many Indo-Sassanian coins from Mewar bearing the names of the issuing kings.

Coins with the legend *Śrī Oṁkāra* on them from their provenance appear to have referred to Oṁkāra Māndhātā on the Narmadā and may have been a local type of *gadhaiyā* coins for southern Malwa[3] Bhagwanlal Indraji[4] suggested that these coins were issued by the authorities of the famous temple at Māndhātā. But H.V. Trivedi's[5] suggestion appears convincing that the king issuing them put the name of the temple instead of his own out of the honour paid by him to the deity or because of the remarkable influence thought to be wielded by the deity.

The horseman reverse type, which earlier was found only in the Huzur Jawahirkhana, Indore,[6] probably representing the finds of a hoard, has now been reported from village Kotha in the East Nimar district (Madhya Pradesh).[7] The type may represent coins struck by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Govinda III in imitation of the issues of the Gurjara-Pratihāras[8]. This is supported by the fame of Govinda III as a horseman.[9] But the suggestion must wait for the discovery of other specimens of this type especially from the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire or areas conquered by the Rāshṭrakūṭas from the Pratihāras It is equally likely that the type was started by some local opponents of the Gurjara-Pratihāras to commemorate a local victory.[10] G. S. Tewari[11] describes it as a specific local type of Nimar region.

A. Banerji is of the opinion that these coins were issued by Hūṇa kings, who established themselves in Pathar and Upramal areas of old Mewar hill tracts.[12] Even if the historicity and existence of these Hūṇa kings are accepted we cannot offer any explanation for the fighting horseman device replacing the well known fire-altar device which had a long and respectable history.

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1. *JRAS*, 1900, p. 122.
2. *JNSI*, XX, p. 26.
3. Ibid, XIII, pp. 205 f.
4. *JBBRAS*, XII, p. 328.
5. *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 205 f.
6. According to P. L. Gupta coins of this type are found elsewhere also but are little known.
7. *JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 213-14.
8. Diskalkar (*JNSI*, VIII, p. 70) originally suggested that these represented Gadhia coins recast by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. But, as pointed out by A.S. Altekar (ibid, p. 71), this type does not amount to a restriking or counterstriking.
9. Cf. Kadba Plates dated A.D. 814–*EI*, IV, p. 340.
10. *JNSI*, VIII, p. 71.
11. *JNSI*, XXVIII, p. 214.
12. Hūṇas in Mewar, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, IV, No. 2, pp. 57-62; also *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 239.

There is no doubt that Indo-Sassanian coins with the legend *Śrīmadādivarāha* and *Śrī Vināyakapāla-deva* were issued respectively by king Bhoja I of the Pratihāra dynasty, who is known to have assumed the title of *Ādivarāha*, and his grandson Vināyakapāla. In the *Dravyaparīkshā* of Ṭhakkura Pheru we have reference to two types of coins called *Varāha-mudrā* and *Vināyakamudrā* in a list of twenty-one coins named Gurjara coins (*Gurjarīmudrā*)[1]. *Gurjarīmudrā* may, thus, refer to the coins issued by the kings of Gujarat as well as those of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. The existing coins and the testimony of the *Dravyaparīkshā* indicate that the only two kings of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty who minted coins under their names were Bhoja I and Vināyakapāla. It is not unlikely that some of the late specimens of the Indo-Sassanian coins were issued by some of the early kings of the dynasty[2]. The connection of the Gurjara-Pratihāras with the Indo-Sassanian coinage may be supported on the ground that two kings of the dynasty are known to have used the Sassanian coin-type and by the possibility that the Gurjaras were connected with the Hūṇas who started the Indo-Sassanian series. It is equally likely that some of the names included by the *Dravyaparīkshā* in its list of Gurjara coins refer to Indo-Sassanian coins minted by the early Gurjara-Pratihāra kings. The debased copies of the Ādivarāha coins may be taken to suggest that this type continued to be minted by some members of the dynasty even after the reign of Bhoja I.

The attribution of the Indo-Sassanian coins with the legend *Śrī Vigra* on them is difficult to decide. Generally, the name on these as also on coins having simply *Śrī Vi* is restored as *Śrī Vigraha*. In the Siyadoni inscription[3] we have references to coins (*drammas*) associated with the name of Vigraha or Vigrahapāla. If, as is generally done, the epigraphic reference is taken to be for the present coins, they would appear to have been minted by a certain king named Vigrahapāla.

As the history of this period knows of Vigrahapālas only in the Pāla dynasty the coins are attributed to Vigrahapāla I of that dynasty.[4] Cunningham[5] recognised this possibility but was not sure about it. V.A. Smith[6] speaks of the "almost positive certainty" of the attribution. He seems to have based his view on the provenance of these coins and on the fact that coins of varying degree of degradation are explained as issues struck at different times, which receives support from there being three Vigrahapālas in the Pāla family.

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[1] vv. 82-93; *JNSI*, X, p. 29.

[2] *JNSI*, VIII, p 70.

[3] *EI*, I, pp. 162-79, l. 24—*Vigrahapālīya dramma;* l. 30—*Vigrahapāla dramma;* l. 9—*Vigrahapāla-satka dramma;* l. 26—*Vigraha dramma.*

[4] Cf. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, I, pp. 667 f.

[5] *CMI*, p. 49.

[6] *OCIM*, I, pp. 233, 239 f.

But the suggestion overlooks a basic consideration. The large number in which these coins have been recovered from Bihar and different parts of U.P. suggests a peaceful and long reign and an effective control over regions to the west of Bengal including the different parts of U. P. This hardly suits our knowledge of the reign of Vigrahapāla[1]. Vigrahapāla I had a short reign probably three or four years after which he abdicated his throne and retired to an ascetic life. It is extremely doubtful if this unmartial king could maintain an effective control over the eastern conquests of Devapāla especially when the Pratihāra throne was occupied by a man of the calibre of Bhoja I. It was under Vigrahapāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla that the Pāla empire fell to pieces.

If at any period of the history of the dynasty the Pāla kings were likely to strike coins imitating the Indo-Sassanian pieces it was under Dharmapāla who defeated their Pratihāra opponents and established their paramountcy over many parts of northern India in which the Indo-Sassanian pieces were in use. The recent discovery of a gold coin of Devapāla of great artistic excellence with the figure of a king standing on the obverse and that of a seated goddess on the reverse[2] makes it even more unlikely that Vigrahapāla felt any necessity to mint in such large numbers coins of a degraded Sassanian type.

The provenance of the present coins also goes against the suggested attribution. These coins are mostly found in U.P. and Bihar. They have been recovered in the Devapāla temple at Ghosrawa in Patna district.[3] But significantly enough they are not reported from the original home of the Pālas in Bengal. The Siyadoni inscription also indicates that these coins were in common use in the area around Gwalior. The *Vigrahapāla drammas* are mentioned in the *Lekhapaddhati* also. In discussing the attribution of these coins it is not noted that they are invariably found in association with the Śrīmadādivarāha coins.[1]

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[1] R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 52 f.

[2] *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 123 f. It may be noted that though the artistic excellence of the coin is worthy of the Pāla tradition in art, it recalls the best specimens of Gupta coins and is without many parallels in the coins of its own period. Its weight 180.5 grains may again fall in line with the weight of the later coins of the Guptas. So far only a single specimen of the coin has been reported. The legend on the obverse is still more enigmatic. At the top left we find *Śrī-mā* which is continued across as *ndeva-pāla*, all written perpendicularly. The letters *Harshaḥ vā* at the bottom left create serious doubts in the mind.

[3] Cunningham, *ASR*, XI, pp. 174–81.

The different stages in the degradation of the Vigrahapāla coins need not necessarily mean so many Vigrahapālas. In that case the similar degradations in the Ādivarāha coins will have to be explained on the assumption that there were many kings with the title of *Ādivarāha* in the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. The position is to be explained by the assumption that the Indo-Sassanian coins in general continued to be imitated long after the coin-type was originally started.

In the Bodhgaya inscription of Dharmapāla[2] we meet the designation of *dramma* for coin. If this term does not refer to any coin struck by early Pāla rulers[3] and is taken to denote the Indo-Sassanian coins following the weight of earlier drachmas, then it may be suggested that the Pālas did not introduce a regular coinage of their own and that some Indo-Sassanian coins, possibly the present Vigrahapāla pieces, were circulating in Magadha and other eastern parts of the Pāla empire. So, in the present state of our knowledge, we can only maintain that the Vigrahapāla coins were one of the types in the Indo-Sassanian series, but the question of the king or dynasty minting them has to be left undecided.

(II)

STANDING KING AND SEATED GODDESS TYPE

Coins of Kashmir

Coins from Kashmir tell a tale of boring monotony[4]. The standard coin-type of Kashmir remained unchanged for over twelve hundred years from Kanishka down to the Muslim conquest of Kashmir in A.D. 1399.

This type with the standing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse originated with the Kushāṇas and is known to have been adopted by the Gupta kings. The early coins of Kashmir, such as those of Mihirakula, Hiraṇyakula and Gokarṇa, have the king standing to the front but with his face turned towards the left; his left hand holds a spear upright, and his right hand is stretched out over a small object possibly representing an altar. The seated goddess

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[1] I owe this point to Dr. P. L. Gupta.

[2] *JASB* (N.S.), IV, p. 101.

[3] From Paharpur are reported three copper coins of a unique type showing a rather clumsily depicted bull on the obverse and three fish on the reverse which have tentatively been assigned to the early Pāla kings—R.C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, I, p. 667.

[4] *CMI.*, pp. 36f.

Ardoksho on the Indo-Scythian coins is represented here as the earth goddess with a cornucopiae in her left hand and a royal fillet or diadem in her right hand. As on the coins of the Guptas Lakshmī replaces Ardoksho, the cornucopiae on the coins of Toramāṇa and his son Pravarasena is replaced by the lotus. Another significant change to be noticed on later coins is that the arms of the seated goddess are gradually displaced by the letters of the legend. On the coins of Śaṅkaravarman and Gopālavarman the left arm of the goddess is omitted; on later coins the honorofic *Śrī* preceding the names of the kings displaces her right arm. The type gets degraded rapidly, so that it is very difficult to recognise the original in it. In the thirteenth century the figures on the coins of Jāgadeva and Rājadeva are so degraded that it is difficult to make out the two figures.

Among these coins of one single type the only element of newness was introduced by king Harsha who adopted the elephant type[1] from the coins of Karṇāṭa and the horseman type[2] from the Shāhī kings.

It is, however, to be noted that for some unaccountable reason in the period between Toramāṇa and Śaṅkaravarman, the coins with the name of Pratāpa, Vinayāditya, Yaśovarma, Nambi and Vigraha present the usual type of Kashmir coins in an extremely debased, almost unrecognisable form, executed boldly in high relief[3].

The coins with the legend *Yaśovarma* have so far been a mystery to scholars, because the only Yaśovarman known from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* never sat on the throne[4] and belongs to a date (c. A.D. 850) too late for the numismatic evidence. A number of suggestions were put forth but none appeared convincing. Hoernle[5] conjectured that they were minted by Yaśodharmaṇ who defeated Mihirakula, but this is controverted by the fact that the reading is Yaśovarma and not Yaśodharma. Another suggestion is that he is the same as Yaśovarman of Kanauj[6] who was defeated by Lalitāditya of Kashmir between A.D. 730 and 740. But the provenance of the Yaśovarma coins ill-suits the suggestion. These coins have been reported chiefly from Punjab and Kashmir and in their type and fabric belong to the series of Kashmir coins. Smith[7] steered clear of the problem by suggesting that these coins were struck by an unrecorded king either in the Punjab or Kashmir during the sixth or seventh century.[1]

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[1] Ibid, Pl. V. 22, 23.
[2] Ibid, 21.
[3] *CCIM*, I, p. 266.
[4] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 706.
[5] *JRAS*, 1903, p. 551; 1909, pp. 105-8; *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1888, pp. 181-82.
[6] *JRAS*, 1908, pp. 783-84; *JASB*, XXIII, p. 700.
[7] *CCIM*, I, p. 266.

Recently it has been pointed out by Prof. Raghavan[2] of Madras that in the philosophical play *Āgamaḍambara* or *Shaṇmata-nāṭaka* written by Jayanta Bhaṭṭa the Kashmirian king Śaṅkaravarman is found having Yaśovarman as his alias. It would, therefore, seem likely that the coins with the legend *Śrī Yaśovarma* were struck by Śaṅkaravarman. If the suggestion is to be accepted we have to postulate that Śaṅkaravarman struck two types of coins. On his gold coins he put his title Yaśovarman, whereas his copper coins have the name Śaṅkaravarman. The two types differ considerably in the matter of the device on them. On the Yaśovarman pieces the obverse has a scarcely recognizable copy of the standing king with *Ki* below the left arm, whereas the reverse has a barbarous, headless copy of the seated goddess. The devices on these coins are extremely debased and the figures, executed boldly in high relief, can hardly be recognised. These coins form a separate group along with the coins having names of Pratāpa, Vinayāditya, Nambi and Vigraha. The coins with the name Śaṅkaravarman mark the beginning of the long series of Kashmir coins which gradually went on debasing in type. The devices on these coins are the same as appear on other Kashmir coins. But these differ from the earlier coins mentioned above in having seated goddess on the obverse and the standing king on the reverse. The figures on these coins though debased compare vary favourably with those of the earlier series. It may, therefore, be suggested that Śaṅkaravarman originally minted gold coins, adopting the devices on the coins of Pratāpāditya and Vinayāditya and inscribing them with his second name Yaśovarman. In doing this he was probably following the example of Jayāpīḍa who on coins belonging to this type puts his title Vinayāditya. It is not unlikely that Śaṅkaravarman later on gave up the degraded devices of the existing coins and started coins following those of Toramāṇa and with figures which seem quite well designed when compared with those on the coins of Yaśovarman, Vinayāditya and Pratāpāditya.

After this general survey we may discuss some of the important features of individual coins.

Toramāṇa

A comparative study of the coins of Kashmir will easily convince anybody that the characteristic coin-type of Kashmir begins with the coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa which must have served as the direct models for later coins.

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[1] See also Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 208.

[2] *Presidential Address to the XXI All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 6.

The Toramāṇa coins seem to have remained in circulation for several centuries. The *Lokaprakāśa* mentions *Toramāṇāḥ* along with *nishkāḥ* and *dinnārāḥ*.[1] It is clear from the *Jaina Rājataraṅgiṇī*[2] of Śrīvara that as late as the fifteenth century these coins were current in Kashmir. In view of the prolonged circulation of these coins, their actual abundance and the variety of the dies used for them, Stein[3] concludes that these coins were struck, "not only by the king who bore this name, but by a succession of rulers after him." He suggests that certain Kārkoṭa kings, such as Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya and Durlabha, who have no genuine copper coins probably accepted the Toramāṇa pieces as their copper coinage and supplemented it by fresh issues.

On the basis of the differences in the characters of the legend and in execution Stein speaks of several varieties of these coins.[4] He describes the coin illustrated by Cunningham[5] as the best executed and earlier variety representing the original type. On the earlier coins the legend *Śrī-Toramāṇa* appears in Brāhmī character of about the fifth or sixth century.

According to Stein on later issues of Toramāṇa's coins "the legend of the obverse, engraved now in bolder but less careful characters, appears reduced in various fashions to *Śrī-tora*, *Śrīto*, *Tora*, etc. On the reverse the Kusana legend disappears altogether, and the figure of the goddess becomes more and more like the coarse representation found on the later coins."

Smith[6] remarks that it is very difficult to distinguish the imitations from the originals. As Stein does not reproduce the later issues we are not in a position to confirm the doubt expressed by Smith.

In any case it may readily be accepted that the earliest specimens of these coins may be ascribed to the sixth century. Toramāṇa of these coins may be identified with Toramāṇa the younger brother and crown prince of Hiraṇya. According to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[7] "Toramāṇa suppressing the undue abundance of (coins) struck by......, put in circulation coins struck in his own (name)." This angered Hiraṇya who imprisoned Toramāṇa and the latter eventually died in the prison.

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[1] Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 321, f. n. 62.

[2] III. 213—*Śrī-Toramāṇa-dīnnārān nishprachārān avetya cha.*
Dvidīnnārī nāgamayī navā tena pravartitā.

[3] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 321.

[4] Ibid, pp. 319-20.

[5] *CMI*, Pl. III. 2.

[6] (*CIM*, I, p. 265.

[7] III. 103—*Balāhatānāṁ prāchuryaṁ vinivāryāsamañjasā.*
Toramāṇena dīnnārāḥ svahatāḥ saṁpravartitāḥ.

The question has often been discussed if this Toramāṇa is to be identified with the well-known Hūṇa ruler Toramāṇa.[1] Most likely the two Toramāṇas were not identical. There is a marked difference in their coin-types. The Hūṇa king Toramāṇa is not known to have conquered Kashmir, which, according to Hsüan Tsang[2] was occupied for the first time by Mihirakula after his defeat at the hands of Bālāditya. Moreover, the known facts about the two Toramāṇas also differ. Whereas the Hūṇa Toramāṇa was a mighty conqueror, the Kashmiri Toramāṇa never became a king and as a pretender died in captivity.

Pravarasena

On stylistic grounds the coins of Pravarasena[3] come after the coins of Toramāṇa, but do not seem to have been far removed from them. In the history of Kashmir there are two kings with the name Pravarasena. Śreshṭhasena, the son and successor of Meghavāhana, was also known as Pravarasena and Tuñjīna. He was the father of Hiraṇya and Toramāṇa. Pravarasena II was the son of Toramāṇa and the city of Pravarapura was named after him. As the coins of Pravarasena seem to be later than those of Toramāṇa, Pravarasena of the coins may be Pravarasena II.

Narendrāditya and Gokarṇa

Cunningham[4] places the coins of Narendrāditya and Gokarṇa after the coins of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II.[5] He does not say anything about the identification of these kings, but it is clear from the chronological chart given by him,[6] that Narendrāditya is really Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya, the grandson of Pravarasena II. But the history of Kashmir does not know any Gokarṇa in the period after Pravarasena II. The only Gokarṇa in the history of Kashmir is placed by Kalhaṇa after the Hūṇa king Mihirakula but long before Toramāṇa and Pravarasena. It is interesting to note that the successor of Gokarṇa was also known as Narendrāditya whose second name was Khiṅkhila.[7] One may be tempted to identify Gokarṇa and Narendrāditya of the coins with Gokarṇa and his successor Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila of Kalhaṇa's account. But, in view of the fact that the type, whose earliest specimens in Kashmir seem to have been associated with the names of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II, appears in a debased form on the coins of Narendrāditya and Gokarṇa, we cannot place these coins in a period long before the times of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II. We may, for the present, ascribe the coins with the name of Narendra to Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya, but, for those with the name of Gokarṇa we cannot offer any identification. It may also be noted here that there are silver coins of the Hephthalite Hun type with the name of Rājā Lakhaṇa Udayāditya which are sometimes ascribed to Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya.[1] But, there is a difference in the *āditya* titles of the two Lakhaṇas. Moreover, the Hephthalite Hun coin belongs to a much earlier period. In the period after Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II these coins will seem to be out of their context.

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[1] *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 152 ff.

[2] *Si-yu-ki*, I, pp. 167ff.

[3] *CMI*, Pl. III. 3, 4.

[4] Ibid. 5, 6.

[5] According to Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 319 the coins with the name of Narendra and Gokarṇa should not be placed anterior to those of the Kārkoṭa kings because in type, metal, and general execution they closely attach themselves to the latter class.

[6] *CMI*, p. 39.

[7] Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 267 begins his list of Kashmir coins with the little copper coin with bust on the obverse and a vase with *Khi* to left and *ṅgi* to right on the reverse. But he is not sure if Khiṅgi stands for Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila. He points out that J. P.

Pratāpāditya

There is some controversy over the attribution of the coins, both of gold and silver, with the legend *Śrī Pratāpa* on them. It is generally agreed that the fuller form of Pratāpa was Pratāpāditya. The confusion about the identification of Pratāpāditya seems to have been increased by the fact that the Pratāpādityas known from the history of Kashmir are differently numbered by scholars.[2] Smith[3] follows Stein[4] in ascribing these coins to Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka. But the general tendency[5] is to attribute these coins to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa.[6]

Rawlins collected nine coins of this class from the Punjab and observes that these coins may not have any connexion with Kashmir. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. VII. 11 illustrates an unique silver coin of the Hephthalite type with the legend *Deva Śāhi,Khiṅgila.*

[1] Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, Pl. VII. 12, pp. 97, 111; S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 37.

[2] Pratāpāditya I, who occupied the vacant throne of Kashmir after Yudhishṭhira, the son of Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila, was driven out, is said to have been a relative of king Vikramāditya and to have come from abroad. Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka was the son and successor of Durlabhavardhana who founded the Karkoṭa dynasty. From the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV. 134 we learn that Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, after defeating the king of Kanauj, took the title of Pratāpāditya. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 40, 44 does not consider Pratāpāditya I and hence refers to Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka and Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa respectively as Pratāpāditya I and Pratāpāditya II. Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 265, 268 does not seem to have considered seriously the Pratāpāditya title of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, but counts the first two Pratāpādityas.

[3] *CCIM*, I, pp. 265, 268.

[4] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 318, f. n. 51.

[5] V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, X, p. 32; A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, X, p. 34; S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 39.

[6] The suggestion was earlier made by Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 44.

Of the three Pratāpādityas we can easily dismiss the claims of Pratāpāditya I. The present coin has a debased and later form of the type which began with Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II and hence it cannot be placed in a period before that of Toramāṇa and Pravarasena II. Of the remaining two Pratāpādityas we are definitely in favour of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa. A very weighty consideration in this connection is the fact that the Śrī Pratāpa coins have been recovered from Fyzabad (village Bhitaware),[1] Banda[2] and Banaras (Rajghat and Sarnath),[3] districts of Uttar Pradesh and Monghyr[4] and Patna (site of ancient University of Nalanda[5]) districts in Bihar. It is to be noted that coins of no other king of Kashmir have been recovered from such distant areas. Trade or religion could not have been the vehicle for carrying these coins from Kashmir. As the coins have been recovered from several places we cannot explain them as chance discoveries. Most probably they came with the conquering army of a king. It is significant that Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa alone of all Kashmiri kings has been credited with such extensive conquests in northern India. Kalhaṇa describes his successful war with Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj and his conquering march through Kaliṅga among other regions. The victory of Lalitāditya must have enabled him to control the area previously under the possession of Yaśovarman;[6] this explains the recovery of the coins from different parts of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Any doubt about Lalitāditya's claim are set at rest by the testimony of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[7] to his adopting the Pratāpāditya title.

We may here refer to a unique coin with the legend *Śrī Pratāpa* illustrated by Cunningham.[8] The form of the letters and the figure of the goddess on this coin differ so much from those on the coins of Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya that both can hardly be imagined as the issues of the same king. On this coin the figure of the goddess is artistically drawn as against the rude caricature on the coins of Lalitāditya and seems to be not much removed from the figure on the coins of Toramāṇa; hence it may be attributed to Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka.[9]

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[1] *JRAS*, 1906, p. 843.

[2] *JASB*, NS, XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.

[3] *JNSI*, X, pp. 30-32.

[4] Ibid., p. 32, f. n. 4.

[5] *ARASI* (Eastern Circle), 1919-20, p. 48.

[6] It would follow from the *Gauḍavaho* that Yaśovarman's empire included Gauḍa.

[7] IV. 134—*Yaśovarmādrivāhinyāḥ kshaṇātkurvan viśoshaṇam.*
Nripatir-Lalitādityaḥ Pratāpādityatāṁ yayau.

[8] *CMI*, Pl. III. 9.

[9] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 44 does the same but describes him as Pratāpāditya I.

Cunningham[1] illustrates a coin of the Kashmir type with *Pratāpa* on the obverse and *deva* on the reverse. He, however, fails to identify Pratāpadeva as the name is not found in any of the known lists of Kashmir kings. But we do not support his reading. Firstly, here *Pa* and *ra* are separate letters and not joined as *Pra*. Moreover, a comparison with the obverse of other coins[2] will convince us that what Cunningham takes to be *ta* is really part of the seat of the goddess.

Śrī Ja-Pratāpa

Śrī Ja-Pratāpa coins were noticed for the first time in the Banda hoard[3] discovered in 1927. Later on V. S. Agrawala[4] reported them from the Rajghat (Banaras) hoards. In both the cases these coins have been recovered along with the Śrī Pratāpa coins. These coins are exactly like the Śrī Pratāpa coins with only *ja* inserted between *Śrī* and *Pratāpa.*

Prayag Dayal[5] ascribed them to Jajja who usurped the throne during the absence of his brother-in-law Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya. But the fact that these coins are recovered from two districts of U. P. and not from any part of Kashmir goes against the suggestion. Moreover, the suggestion would imply that these distant districts in the Uttar Pradesh remained under the effective control of the king of Kashmir. But from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[6] we learn that during the interval between Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa Pratāpāditya and Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya royal power did not shine brilliantly and it is therefore unlikely that Kashmir retained possession over these distant regions.

Kalhaṇa[7] informs us that Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya was a powerful ruler who repeated the exploits of his illustrious grandfather Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and passing through Kanauj and Prayāga went to Bengal. It is therefore not unlikely that the Śrī Ja-Pratāpa coins were issued by him in connection with his conquests in northern India. Though in the disturbed political conditions of northern India in this period such a raid was quite possible, there is no corroboration of the achievement[8] and doubts have been expressed about its historicity[9]. If these coins were issued by Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya we should have expected to find along with them some of his coins with the legend *Śrī Vinayāditya*, especially when the number of the

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[1] Ibid., Pl. V. 34.
[2] Eg., Ibid., Pl. 28, 29a, 32, 33.
[3] *JASB*, NS, XLI, 1928, pp. 6-9.
[4] *JNSI*, X, pp. 31-32.
[5] *JASB*, NS, XLI, 1928, p. 6.
[6] IV. 401.
[7] Ibid., 402-531.
[8] S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 42.
[9] *JNSI*, X, pp. 36–37.

Śrī Ja-Pratāpa coins in the Banda hoard (and possibly also in the Rajghat hoards) was by no means insignificant. There is no valid reason why the Vinayāditya coins are confined to Kashmir and the Śrī Ja-Pratāpa coins are found only in Uttar Pradesh. Moreover, it will be difficult to explain why in the newly conquered areas Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya did not issue coins with his full name when he had already done it on his Śrī Vinayāditya coins and decided to introduce himself indirectly to the newly conquered areas.

As both from Banda and Banaras the Śrī Pratāpa and Śrī Ja-Pratāpa coins alone are found together, it has been suggested by A. S. Altekar[1] that the two issues were contemporaneous. He is further of the view that the conquests ascribed to Jayāpīḍa Vinayāditya were not made by him after his accession to the throne. As an adventurous youth he may have taken part in his grand-father's expedition and later, as a governor in eastern Uttar Pradesh, he may have, either with the permission of his grand-father or on his own, interposed his initial *ja* in the legend on the coins issued by his grandfather. Considering all the facts the present suggestion is the best made so far.

Nambi and Vigraha

Stein[2] is of the view that the legend reads *Viśraṁsadeva.* But with Smith[3] we support Cunningham's reading *Vigraha.*

In the history of Kashmir we find references to two Vigraharājas. A nephew of queen Diddā who belonged to the ruling family of Lohara had this name. He is said to have intrigued for the throne of Kashmir and against Tuṅga. He invaded Kashmir, but was killed. Another Vigraharāja was the son of king Sussala. He joined Loṭhana against king Jayasiṁha but was eventually made captive. None of these could have been the Vigraharāja of the coins. We do not know if they ever ascended the throne or issued any coin in their name. The dates of the two Vigraharājas seem to be too late for the type which on stylistic considerations is to be associated with the coins of the Karkoṭa dynasty.

It is clear that on numismatic grounds the coins of Vigraha and Nambi belong to the same group to which the coins of the Karkoṭa kings belong. But the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* does not include these names in its account of the Karkoṭa dynasty. It may be suggested that Kalhaṇa failed to record the names of these kings known only from numismatic source, or else these may have been second names or titles of two of the known kings of the dynasty.

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[1] Ibid., p. 37.

[2] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 318, f.n. 51.

[3] *CCIM*, I, p. 266.

Sugandhā

Sugandhā was the queen of king Śaṅkaravarman. After the death of Śaṅkaravarman she ruled as guardian for two years for her minor son Gopālavarman (A. D. 902-904). Saṁkaṭa, a supposititious son of Śaṅkaravarman, died after ruling only for ten days. Then Sugandhā formally ascended the throne and ruled for two years. Sugandhā retired when in A. D. 906 the Tantrins placed Pārthavarman on the throne. In 914 with the help of the Ekāṅgas she made an unsuccessful attempt to regain power but was taken prisoner and ultimately killed.

Pārthavarman

Pārthavarman came to the throne in 906 when the Tantrins ousted Sugandhā. But actual power was enjoyed by his father Nirjitavarman. In 921 the Tantrins deposed Pārthavarman but a few years later they put him back on the throne after deposing Śūravarman ; but he was very soon replaced by Chakravarman.

Nirjitavarman

The coins on which Cunningham[1] read *Adi* on the obverse and *njita* on the reverse were ascribed by him to Avantivarman, the founder of the Utpala dynasty, but he did not explain why Avantivarman used the name Āditya on his coins.[2] But Stein[3] correctly ascribed these coins to Nirjitavarman, a grandson of Śūravarman, the half-brother of Avantivarman. Nirjitavarman was the actual ruler during the reign of his son Pārthavarman from A. D. 906 to 921. The Tantrins deposed Pārthavarman in 921 and Nirjitavarman became the formal king. He ruled for two years.

If we thus attribute to Nirjitavarman the coins previously ascribed by Cunningham to Avantivarman, Śaṅkaravarman (Yaśovarman) and not Avantivarman will become the first king of the Utpala dynasty to have struck coins. This will suit the fact that Śaṅkaravarman like the Karkoṭa kings issued coins both of gold and copper and used (like Vinayāditya Jayāpīḍa) both his name and title on his coins. Further, Śaṅkaravarman's coins with the legend *Srī Yaśovarma* are so closely akin to the coins of the Karkoṭa kings that there is no place for the coins of Avantivarman (attributed by us to Nirjitavarman) in the period between the reigns of the Karkoṭa kings and Śaṅkaravarman.

Unmattāvantivarman

Cunningham[4] ascribes the coins with *Śrī* on the obverse and *Unma* on the reverse to Unmattāvantivarman, a son of

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[1] *CMI*, p. 45.

[2] Cunningham illustrates the coins of Ādityavarman (Avantivarman) and Śaṅkaravarman as No. 2 and 1 on Plate IV but on p. 45 numbers them wrongly as no. 1 and 2.

[3] *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, pp. 314-15, f.n. 31.

[4] *CMI*, Pl. IV. 7, p. 45.

Pārthavarman, who succeeded Chakravarman. In view of the legend on the coins it would seem that Unmatta was a part of his real name and was not prefixed by Kalhaṇa to refer to the mad and cruel deeds of the king including the delight he took in murdering his father and some other relatives.

Yaśaskara

On the coins of Yaśaskara the obverse legend is *Yaskara.* Cunningham[1] read it as *Yāskara.* But what he seems to have taken to represent the medial sign *ā* is really the left half of the crescent-shaped ornament on the bosom of the goddess.

Bhīmagupta

The coin of Bhīmagupta illustrated by Cunningham[2] has on the obverse *Bhī* on the left and *magu* on the right, and on the reverse *pta.* But the coin illustrated by Smith[3] has on the obverse *Bhī* on the left and *ma* on the right, whereas the reverse has *gupta.*

Diddā

Diddā, the daughter of Siṁharāja, king of Lohara, was married to Kshemagupta. She wielded considerable influence over her husband with the result that Kshemagupta was nicknamed as Diddākshema. The coins with the legend *Di-Kshema* on the obverse belong to the reign of Kshemagupta and confirm the infatuation which Kshemagupta had for his queen.

After the death of Kshemagupta in A. D. 958 Diddā exercised real authority during the reigns of Abhimanyugupta, Nandigupta, Tribhuvanagupta and Bhīmagupta. In 980 she put Bhīmagupta to death and formally ascended the throne. She died in 1003. The coins with the name of Śrī Diddādevya on them were evidently struck during the period she was the formal ruler.

Kalaśa

On some coins of Kalaśa[4] the reverse has the legend *prama,* the exact significance of which cannot be determined.

Salhaṇa

The coin[5] with the reading *Sallarā* on the obverse and *jadeva* on the reverse may be ascribed to Salhaṇa, the step-brother of Uchchala whom Gargachandra, a powerful *ḍāmara* chief, raised to the throne of Kashmir after the murder of Uchchala. He had no qualities of a ruler and merely danced to the tune of Gargachandra. He earned the displeasure of Gargachandra who invited Sussala. Salhaṇa could offer a very brief and weak resistance.

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[1] Ibid., p. 45.
[2] Ibid., Pl. IV. 15.
[3] *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXVII. 12.
[4] Cunningham, *CMI*, Pl. V. 30.
[5] Ibid., 27.

Jayasiṁhadeva

According to Cunningham[1] there were two kings with the name of Jayasiṁhadeva whose reign periods were respectively A. D. 1127-30 and 1132-55, Mallārjuna ruling for two years in the interval between their reigns. He assigns coins with the legend *Śrī Jayasiṁha* on the obverse and *deva* on the reverse[2] to Jayasiṁhadeva I. On the coins of Jayasiṁhadeva II he reads *Śrī Vijayasuta* on the obverse and *Siṁhadeva* on the reverse.[3] Between Jayasiṁhadeva II and Paramānak (*sic.* Paramānuka) he places Śrī Jaya Siratna Deva and illustrates the obverse of his coin.[4]

But it is wrong to contemplate two Jayasiṁhas.[5] Actually there was only one Jayasiṁha who was crowned by his father Sussala in A. D. 1123 but could enjoy rulership only after Sussala was killed by some conspirators in A. D. 1128. He ruled upto A.D. 1154-55. In this period of twenty-seven years there was no break in the enjoyment of authority by Jayasiṁha. However, Loṭhana, the brother of king Salhaṇa, occupied Lohara. But Mallārjuna, a half brother of Jayasiṁha, got the throne of Lohara through a plot in the Lohara court (A.D. 1131). Jayasiṁha manoeuvred to retake Lohara and Mallārjuna fled to Rājapurī where he was captured in A.D. 1135. The legends on the two coins illustrated by Cunningham also do not support the distinction he makes between Jayasiṁha I and Jayasiṁha II. The legend on the first coin is *Śrī Jaya* on the left and *siṁha*(*rā*) on the right of the obverse, and *ja*(*deva*) on the reverse.[6] On the second coin Cunningham[7] reads *Śrī Vijaya Suta* on the obverse. What Cunningham reads as *suta* is clearly *Jaya*. After *Śrī* there are three letters which cannot be *Vijaya* and are perhaps some adjective or title prefixed to *Jaya*. On the reverse of this coin we have *siṁha* on the left and *deva* on the right. Thus this coin may also be ascribed to Jayasiṁhadeva though the legend on it is not identical with that on the first coin.

As regards the third coin, assigned by Cunningham[8] to *Śrī Jaya Siratna Deva*, the history of Kashmir does not know any king of this name. He could not have intervened between Jayasiṁhadeva (mentioned by Cunningham as Jayasiṁhadeva II) and Paramānuka. Paramānuka was the immediate successor of Jayasiṁha. Cunningham does not illustrate the reverse of this coin. The readings on the obverse is *Śrī Jayasiṁha* on the left and *ratnadeva* on the right. This coin may, therefore, also be ascribed to Jayasiṁha. As in the case of the second coin we find another qualifying word (*ratna* in this case) added to the name.

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[1] Ibid., p. 42.
[2] Ibid., Pl. V. 28.
[3] Ibid., 29.
[4] Ibid., 29A.
[5] Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 314, f. n. 31.
[6] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 46 reads *Śrī Jayasiṁha* on the obverse and *deva* on the reverse.
[7] *CMI*, p. 46.
[8] Ibid.

Thus, for the present, we can ascribe all these three coins to Jayasiṁha and add that he seems to have adopted several legends on his coins.

Gulhaṇa

Cunningham[1] illustrates the obverse of a coin with the legend *Śrī Gulhaṇa*. He could easily see that it is of the Kashmir type but did not identify the king as he could not find any king of this name in any dynasty of Kashmir. We may suggest that the coin belongs to Gulhaṇa, the eldest son of Jayasiṁha, who was crowned as the ruler of Lohara by his father. We do not know anything about the later career of Gulhaṇa. He may have remained in Lohara or more likely he may have predeceased his father Jayasiṁha who was therefore succeeded by his another son Paramānuka.

Vantideva

After Paramānuka Cunningham[2] places Avantideva. In the later period there is no Avantideva in the history of Kashmir. We may suggest that the coin was issued by Vantideva, the son of Paramānuka and the last ruler of the second Lohara dynasty. In that case, it may be suggested that what appears to be *A* on the obverse may have been intended to be *Śrī*.[3]

(III)

HORSEMAN AND BULL TYPE

Coins of Shāhi Kings

The type commonly known as the horseman and bull type originated with the Brāhmaṇa Shāhi dynasty of Udabhāṇḍapura (Ohind), but was continued by some of the Rajput states and also by the Ghaznavis and the Ghoris.

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[1] Ibid., Pl. V. 35, p. 46.

[2] Ibid., 31, p. 46.

[3] The Calcutta edition of Jonarāja's *Dvitīya Rājataraṅgiṇī* spells the name as Vārttideva. Does the confusion indicate that the real name was some thing else (Avantideva)?

The history of the Shāhi dynasty is not well-documented and some of the names appearing on the coins cannot be equated with those known from other sources. It is, therefore, obvious that in the present state of our knowledge the chronological presentation of the coins attempted by Cunningham is highly conjectural.

A single specimen of a coin of this area has on its obverse a peacock with outspread wings to left and on the reverse a lion to left with the legend *Śrī Kamara*[1]. The remaining coins can be classified into two types, (i) elephant and lion, and (ii) bull and horseman. We have coins of the first type for the reigns of Śrī Padama, Śrī Vakkadeva and Śrī Sāmantadeva. The bull and horseman type belongs to the reigns of Sāmantadeva, Spalapatideva, Khudavayaka, Bhīmadeva and Vakkadeva[2]. Of these Padama, Vakka and Khudavayaka[3] cannot be identified with any of the names given by Al-Bīrūnī for the Shāhi kings.

On one type of coins of Vakkadeva we have an elephant walking to left and the legend *Śrī Vakka Deva*[4] on the obverse and a lion to right having its tail over back on the reverse, in some cases single letters *Da, Pi, Ra* or *Vi* appearing below the lion[5]. Smith notices three pellets and other marks in front of the lion[6]. According to H. Humbach[7] Vakka may be connected with the Bactrian title *bago*, pronounced *vağò* and meaning lord.

Cunningham describes Spalapatideva as the first to issue the horseman and bull type. These coins have on the obverse a recumbent humped bull to left with the trident of Śiva on the flank, an ornamental cloth covering the body and the legend *Śrī Spalapati Deva*. The reverse has the figure of a horseman to right, with long lance in right hand, and left hand before face, holding some indistinct object, with single Brāhmī letters *A*, *Gu* or *Ka* to the upper left and legend in unknown characters to right of which Cunningham notes two distinctly different varieties.[1]

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[1] *CMI*, p. 62. Cunningham assigns him roughly to A. D. 830. But if he is to be identified with Kamalū of Al-Bīrūnī, he is to be placed after Sāmantadeva. H.C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, pp. 102 f describes a coin in the British Museum with the name *Śrī Kamaladeva* on the obverse and the figure of a *hamsa* on the reverse and observes that there is no coin of the lion and peacock type in the British Museum which according to Bayley had the legend *Śrī Kamara*.

[2] *CCIM*, I, p. 243.

[3] Thomas, *JRAS*, IX, p. 180 ascribes the coins with the name of Khudavayaka to Kamlūa. But the suggested transformation is conjectural and Kamlūa may be identified with Kamara on a single specimen.

[4] The name was read as Varka (Bayley), Verka (Thomas), Veṅka (Cunningham) or Vaṅka (Rodgers). Thomas ascribed the elephant and lion type of coins with the name of Vaṅkadeva to Kanak, the last of the Turks of Kabul. But, we know that Vaṅka is by no means certain and Kanak may stand for Kanishka--Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, II, pp. 403-21.

[5] *CMI*, pp. 62f.

[6] *CCIM*, I, p. 248.

[7] "The Iranian tradition of the Hindu Shāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura" to be published in the Central Asia Number of *Bharati* (Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University), X, 1966-67.

There are also some coins of the humped bull and horseman type with the legend *Śrī Ve...* which Cunningham assigns to the second reign of Veṅkadeva (or Vakkadeva) when he was restored to power after Spalapati[2]. The suggestion is no doubt an ingeneous one but the position of Vakka in the genealogical list of the Shāhis is not known. To us the legend on the obverse does not seem to be *Śrī Ve.* So long as the legend is not correctly deciphered it would not be safe to discuss the identification of the king.

Though Sāmantadeva continued the elephant and lion type also, his recumbent humped bull and horseman type is very commonly found.[3] These latter coins can be classified into many sub-varieties according to the position of the legend and the Śaivite mark and the particular portions of the figures on the obverse and reverse being distinct.[4] The coins with the name of Sāmantadeva continued to be minted long after the death of this king. H. de S. Shortt[5] refers to 29 coins from a hoard ; on these coins, unlike the earlier coins with this name, the figures of the bull and horseman are drawn in outline.

Smith[6] suggests that Sāmanta and Spalapati are not personal names but the two titles used by one king, the Kallar of Al-Bīrūnī and the Lalliya of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī.* This is supported by the fact that Spalapati is a Sanskritized form of an old Iranian title *spāda-pati* meaning army leader, commander.[7] The continued use of Sāmanta on later coins of other dynasties is also taken to suggest that Sāmanta on the coins of Ohind referred to a title. Then, the suggestion of identity is supported on the ground that on the coins of Sāmanta and Spalapati alike there are numerals representing 802, 812, 813, 814, 815 and 817 probably years in the Saka era. Smith suggests that the coins with the Persian title were struck in the territory west of

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1. *CMI*, p. 63.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 64.
4. *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 276f. Thomas, *JRAS*, IX, p. 181 suggested that Sāmantadeva, a follower of the Brahmanical creed substituted bull and horseman type for the elephant and lion type, emblematic of Buddhism. But the supposition is contradicted by the elephant and lion type of Sāmantadeva.
5. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314.
6. *CCIM*, I, pp. 244-46.
7. H. Humbach, op. cit. Elliot suggests that Syāla or Syālapati was "probably leader, and, perhaps, even the progenitor of the Syāla Jāts of Jhang Syāla and other localities in the Punjab—Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 422.

the Indus, which formerly was included in the Persian empire, while those with the Sanskrit title were issued in the Punjab, but himself accepts that the evidence concerning the provenance of the coins is not sufficiently precise to test the conjecture.

But the testimony of Al-Bīrūnī goes against the suggestion. He definitely mentions Sāmand (=Sāmantadeva) among the Shāhi kings[1] and as distinct from Kallar. No doubt Spalapati is difficult to account for, but in the absence of another better suggestion we may tentatively accept his identification with Kallar as proposed by Thomas and Cunningham.[2] Nothing positive can be made of the figures which Smith prefers to interpret as dates. The appearance of Sāmanta on later coins of other dynasties merely indicates that these later coins were copied from the coins of Sāmantadeva of Ohind. Numismatic history knows several parallel cases where symbols appearing on prototype coins have been slavishly retained on the subsequent copies, even though in the latter case they do not have any meaning.

The bull and horseman[3] type with the legend *Śrī Khamarayakaḥ* on the obverse[4] is assigned by Cunningham to Toramāṇa who is known to have assumed the name of Kamaluka called Kamalū by Al-Bīrūnī.[5] But the name on these coins has been read as Khudavayaka by Smith[6] in which case the suggested identification seems unlikely. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to identify Kamalū with Kamara, whose coin of the lion and peacock type has been noticed above. H. Humbach[7] describes Khvadavayaka as derived from old Iranian title *xvatāvaya* meaning sovereign and may be compared with the Bactrian *xoadēo* used by the Turki Shāhis of Kabul, the predecessors of the Shāhis of Ohind.

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[1] Wilson attributed these coins to a Rajput prince who lived many years afterwards. Elliot is willing to accept, with reservation, that the coins with the simple name of Śrī Sāmantadeva may be referred to the Sāmand of Abū Rīhān, but holds that "Samanta, whenever, it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chivalier*, the leader of an army, the Amīr"—Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., pp. 422-23. But, following M. Adrien de Longpérier (*Mémoire sur l' Inde*, p. 212; *Journal Asiatique*, 1845, p. 192; *Fragments Arabs et Persans*, p. 219); scholars generally take Sāmantadeva to be the name of a king of Kabul.

[2] It is said in favour of the identification of Kalar and Syālapati that there is "less difference in sound between Syāla and Kalār than would at first be imagined." But, "this is carrying speculation to an extreme"—Elliot and Dowson, op. cit., p. 421.

[3] The horseman on *CMI*, VII. 15 holds in his right hand a lance which looks more like a flag.

[4] *CMI*, p. 64.

[5] R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed.), *Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112.

[6] The name is read as Khvadavayaka by Bayley and Rodger (supported by Humbach) and as Khuduvayaka by Stein.

[7] op. cit.

Bhīmadeva is found continuing the two types of recumbent humped bull and horseman and elephant and lion.[1]

On some coins of the humped bull and horseman type the obverse has the legend *Śrī Ashata Pāla.*[2] But the coin in the Indian Museum illustrated by V. A. Smith[3] contains the reading Aśatapāla. Smith ascribed the coins to Āśaṭa of Chamba. S. C. Ray[4] identifies him with Ishtpāl whom Firishta mentions as the father of Jayapāla the Shāhi king. It is a very likely suggestion, but if the real name of the father of Jayapāla was Ishṭapāla, as appears from Firishta, the identification loses its force. Richard Burn[5] read the legend Amṛitapāla. Subsequently Smith[6] accepted the new reading and has been followed by Shortt.[7] Hence these coins are to be attributed to Amṛitapāla (c. A. D. 1200), a ruler of Badaun.

We do not get any coins of other Shāhi kings, Jayapāla, Anandapāla[8] and Trilochanapāla.

The type originating with the Shāhi kings appears to have been continued by some other Rajput kings.[9] They seem to have borrowed the type from the coins of Sāmantadeva rather slavishly.[10] The obverse of the coins of Sāmantadeva, even with his name, appears as the reverse of these coins, while the figure of the horseman with the legends containing the names of the kings issuing them form their obverse. Cunningham notices the coins with the legends *Śrī Pīpala, Śrī Jā., Bhikha* (or *Bhīsma*), *Kīl.*, and *Śrī Pithi.* Smith[11] ascribes the coins with the legend *Śrī Pīpala* to Pīpaladeva, a chief at Machari in the Alwar State who seems to be mentioned in an inscription from that place.[12]

Smith[13] mentions coins having the rude outline of a horseman with a standard to right and the legend *Śrī Kirtti.*[14]

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[1] *CMI*, pp. 64f.

[2] ibid., p. 65.

[3] *CCIM*, I, pp. 214f.

[4] *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 109ff.

[5] *IA*, 1913, p. 308.

[6] ibid.

[7] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 316.

[8] The coins of Anandapāla, common in the Punjab and northern part of the Gangetic Doab, to which Thomas (*JRAS*, IX, p. 121) refers, were minted by Anaṅgapāla, king of Delhi.

[9] *CMI*, pp. 87 f.

[10] H.de S. Shortt, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 316 refers to a coin with the name of Sāmantadeva which he describes as struck in Punjab or Rajputana sometime after A.D. 1200.

[11] *CCIM*, I, p. 258.

[12] *Reports of the ASI*, (Old Series), VI, p. 79, Pl. XI.

[13] *CCIM*, I, pp. 257, 263.

[14] R. Niyogi (*JNSI*, X, pp. 27ff) omits *Śrī* as there is no trace of it on the coins.

R. Niyogi[1] convincingly restores the name on these coins and also those read by Cunningham[2] and Thomas[3] respectively as *Kīl* or *Śrī Kīlli Deva* with *pāla* on the reverse as *Śrī Kīrtti-pāladeva*. She attributes these coins to king Kīrttipāladeva ruling in the Gaṇḍakī valley in the twelfth century. The coins may as well be ascribed to king Kīrttipāla who founded the Chāhamāna dynasty of Jalor.

Another coin of the horseman and recumbent bull type illustrated by Cunningham[4] has on the obverse the legend *Śrī*... and on the reverse *Śrī Kalhana* or *Kīlhana*. This may be attributed to king Kelhaṇa of the Chāhamāna dynasty of Nadol.[5]

This type enjoyed a long life. The Ghaznivid conquerors until their extinction continued it, even keeping in the Nāgarī script the name *Śrī Sāmantadeva* above the bull on the reverse but adding in the Persian script the Sultān's name Masaud above the horseman on the obverse.[6] Later on the type is found to have been used by Muhammad bin Sām and his successors in Ghazni and Delhi down to the time of Balban. The later Sultāns of Delhi discontinued the use of this type. But through the coins of the petty rulers of Kangra the type survived down to the time of Trilochana (A.D. 1620).[7]

Recently C.R. Singhal[8] has illustrated a bull and horseman type of coin with the legend *Sā Uprāma Sā* on the obverse and *(Ha)mīrah* on the reverse and suggests that it may be assigned to some one of the Turk Sultāns of Delhi. P. L. Gupta[9] prefers the reading *Sāu Vrāma Sā* because it suits his suggestion that the coin belongs to Bahram Shah. The latter suggestion receives some support from the fact that the hoard which contains this coin has coins belonging to the period from A.D. 1210 to 1287 (Iltutmish to Balban) but Bahram Shah (1240-1242) and Nasiruddin Mahmud I (1246–1266) are not represented in it. The hoard in question is a small one with 41 coins only in which Firoz Shah I, Raziyya and Masaūd Shāh are each represented by 2 coins. If the composition of the hoard is to be any criterion then one should expect some coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud I who ruled for 20 years as against 2 years of Bahram Shah and who immediately preceded Balban in whose reign

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1. Ibid.
2. *CMI*, p. 88.
3. *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 59.
4. *CMI*, p. 88.
5. Cunningham, ibid., p. 94 conjectures that these coins belong to Karaṇa or Kalhaṇa son of the Guhila king Samarasiṁha.
6. Ibid., p. 88.
7. *CMI*, pp. 66 f.
8. *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 109-11.
9. Ibid., p. 111.

the hoard seems to have been buried. There is another consideration which goes against the suggestion of P. L. Gupta. The bull and horseman coins of Bahram Shah are known to contain the legend *Suritāṇa Śrī Muajdī*[1] or *Muij*[2]. The parallel of Iltutmish cited by P.L. Gupta is not much to the point because in the case of Bahram Shah it is not a question of first and later parts of his name appearing on two coins, it is a case of two sets of totally different complete legends appearing on his coins.

C. R. Singhal seems to suggest that the legend read by Cunningham[3] as *Mau + Śrī Uvāma*[4] should be taken to be *Sā Uprāma Sā*. But a comparison of the legends on the coins of Cunningham and Singhal will reveal that the legends on them are not identical. These seem to be two different coins whose identification cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

Several later dynasties of the period, e.g., Tomaras (? Yadus of Bayana), Gāhaḍavālas and Chāhamānas adopted this type. We will notice their coins in a later context.

Coins of the Rajput Kings of Narwar (Yajvapāla dynasty)

For the sake of continuity we may discuss here coins of kings, described by Cunningham[5] as the Rajputs of Narwar who, though beyond the chronological limits of our period, adopted its numismatic traditions. Kings of this group are sometimes found combining the three-lined reverse device of the seated goddess type with the horseman device. Among kings whose coins Cunningham discusses in this context Malayavarmmadeva is to be identified with king Malayavarman of the Pratihāra dynasty of Gwalior and the other kings belonged to the Yajvapāla or Jajapella dynasty of Narwar (M.P.).

The coins struck by Malayavarman are not strictly speaking of the usual horseman and bull type. On these coins we find on the obverse a rude figure of a horseman.[6] The reverse has, probably in imitation of the seated goddess type, a three-line legend *Śrī Malayavarmmadeva* covering the whole surface[7]

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1. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Sultans of Delhi in the Delhi Museum*, Coin no. 173.
2. Ibid., no. 179.
3. *CMI*, p. 88.
4. Ibid., Pl. IX, no. 2?.
5. *CMI*, pp. 92-93. V. A. Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 262 ff apparently follows Cunningham in cataloguing coins under the Dynasty of Narwar.
6. Altekar, *JNSI*, IV, p. 34 claims that there are traces of legends which are not found on Cunningham's coin (*CMI*, X.2). But Altekar's coin does not differ from Cunningham's coins in this respect and does not have any traces of a legend.
7. *CMI*, p. 92. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 262 reads the legend as *Śrīmad Malayavarmmadeva*. But he does not illustrate any coin to check the reading. On coins in *CMI* there is no trace of *da* to support the reading *Śrīmad*. Altekar, *JNSI*, IV, p. 34 reads *Śrīman–Malaya* on a coin illustrated by him.

and in some cases a railing-like border above. There are also traces of dates to be assigned to the Śaka era[1] and calculated by Cunningham as covering from A.D. 1223 to 1230.

This coin-type was adopted by the kings of the Jajapella dynasty. The kings whose coins in this type are attested are Chāhaḍadeva, his grandson Āsalladeva and latter's grandson Gaṇapatideva. Following Malayavarman these kings also put dates on one side of their coins[2] and add the honorific *Śrī* or *Śrīmat* before their names. The other side has the figure of a horseman in the case of Āsalladeva and Gaṇapatideva and a bull in the case of Chāhaḍadeva[3]. On his coins the name of Āsalladeva appears as Asaladeva[4]. On the coins of Gaṇapatideva the figure of the horseman is so rude as to be scarcely traceable. Of these kings Chāhaḍadeva alone struck coins of the usual horseman and bull type. The legend on the obverse, which has the figure of a horseman to right, is *Śrī Chāhaḍadeva.* The reverse contains the usual figure of the recumbent humped bull with the mark \ on the saddle-cloth. Cunningham notices two types of legends on the reverse *Asāvarī Śrī Samasoraladeva* and *Asāvarī Śrī Sāmantadeva.* Besides the difference in the legends the two types of his coins differ in that on coins with the name of Sāmantadeva the bull has a trefoil tassel on his collar which is missing on the coins of the other type.[5] The legend on the reverse may be said to have been borrowed from the coins of the Chāhamānas. Here also we prefer the reading *Asāpurī* (=Āśāpurī) in place of *Asāvarī.* H. de S. Shortt[6] describes the coins with the name of Sāmanta as being Chāhaḍa's independent coinage and explains the coins of the second type as issued by Chāhaḍa as a tributary of Shamsu'd-dīn Iltutmish[1].

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[1] Altekar, *JNSI*, IV, p. 34 does not find any date on his coin.

[2] On the coins of Āsalladeva Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 90) read the dates Saṁvat 1312 and 1335. C.R. Singhal (*JNSI*, XXVII, p. 193) notes that on his coins from the Lalitpur hoard the dates are given in one of the two ways: (a) Saṁ (=Saṁvat) is followed by two numbers standing for ten and digit, while thousand and hundred are omitted, (b) the complete date is given in four figures. Cunningham took Āsalladeva's rule to have lasted for 23 years. But the last date of his reign known from his coins is Saṁvat 1365 (*JNSI*, XXVII, p. 193). Hence Āsalladeva seems to have ruled for at least 51 years. This would require revision of the dates of accession of his successors Gopāla and Gaṇapati fixed by Cunningham in S. 1335 and 1347 respectively.

[3] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 93 describes it as "rude horseman" but the figure (ibid, Pl. X. 5) is clearly bull. It is not unlikely that on the coins of Āsalladeva and Gaṇapatideva also the figure intended was bull.

[4] C. R. Singhal, *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 193; also Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 90. But A.W. Botham, *Catalogue of the Provincial Coin Cabinet Assam* (2nd edition, Allahabad, 1930), p. 30 reads Asalla in place of Asala.

[5] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314.

[6] Ibid, pp. 315 f. Shortt, ibid., p. 317 suggests that before 1234 Chāhaḍa issued his coins from Ajmer, first as independent ruler and then as feudatory of Iltutmish. After the death of Iltutmish Chāhaḍa became the independent ruler of Narwar where he struck his later coins of a coarse style and fabric usually associated with Narwar.

IV

SEATED GODDESS TYPE

Coins of Kalachuris of Tripuri

Another very common coin-type of this period was initiated by king Gāṅgeyadeva (c. A.D. 1015-1040) of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. His coins, irrespective of their size and metal, have the same type. On the obverse of these coins[2] inside a circle of dots the name of the king is given as *Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva* in bold characters covering the face of the coin, whereas on the reverse inside a circle of dots appears the figure of four-armed Lakshmī[3], nimbate, sitting cross-legged with lotuses in her two upper hands and the remaining two hands spread out at her sides.

D.W. MacDowall[4] criticises the suggestion of Cunningham[5] that Gāṅgeyadeva issued contemporaneously "a perfect monetary system in all three metals and of different values" and that none of his successors continued the coinage. He points out that the metal of these coins varies from gold to base gold, silver gilt, silver, silvered copper and copper, and the differences in the metal are so little imperceptible that it is difficult to believe that they were issued as gold, silver or copper coins and part of the same monetary system under any one king.

Likewise, the figure of the seated goddess on the reverse of these coins has innumerable intermediate stages between extremely good representations and others that are crude and stylized, the successive groups in the scale of degeneration suggesting a chronological sequence.

Significantly enough "pure gold coins are found only with the earlier types, while silver occurs in the middle ranges and the most degenerate forms of the reverse type are found with the silvered copper issues alone."

The many stages of degeneration cannot be sandwitched within the twenty-five years of Gāṅgeyadeva's reign and have to be spread over a century or even more.

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1. Thomas (Ed), *Prinsep's Essays* (1858), I, p. 331 and *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, p. 70 takes Samasoraladeva to be the Nāgarī version of Shamsu'ddīn. Shortt, Op. cit., p. 316 points out that the legend on the coins suggests that the intended reading was Sams-orl-Din and not Samasoraladeve.
2. *CII*, IV, p. clxxxii.
3. Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 72) described the goddess as being Pārvatī.
4. *Numismatic Chronicle*, sixth series, XVIII, pp. 157-165.
5. *CMI*, p. 72.

MacDowall classifies these coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva into nine types. The prototype of the series, represented by a single coin in the British Museum, was made of good quality gold and the figure of the goddess looks very natural and compact with different parts of the body in good proportion. Type 9 representing the final stage in the degeneration is of copper with traces of silvering. The figure of the goddess is highly stylized. The globe representing the abdomen is very small like the two globes marking her bust. The lines representing her arms, legs and head-dress are detached from her body.

These types reveal a parallel deterioration in their weight from 4.1-4.2 gm. for types 1-5, to 3.9-4.0 gm. for types 6-8, and to 3.7-3.8 gm. for type 9.

D. W. MacDowall determines the approximate periods of the introduction of these types by comparing them with the coins of contemporary and neighbouring dynasties which copied the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva.

Thus, the coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva appear to have continued to be minted throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries long after the death of Gāṅgeyadeva.

MacDowall distinguishes one group of coins with the name of Gāṅgeyadeva as being outside the main series and representing a derivative series similar to the coins of the Chandellas, Gāhaḍavālas and other contemporary dynasties. This subsidiary series seems to have copied its reverse type from type 5 of the main series, whose broad flan it retains. Like the main series, it also underwent a gradual deterioration of metal from base gold to silver ; the figure on the reverse reveals a faster degeneration than the main series. Coins of this group are conspicuous by their characteristic rendering of the arms of the goddess, which, along with the flat heavy line representing the necklace, make a single arch. The head is a triangle and the circle representing the abdomen is small like those representing the breasts. The British Museum has a specimen of this type in base gold placed by MacDowall towards the middle of the twelfth century, while the three silver coins from Jabalpur[1] are assigned to the end of the century.

The origin of the type is not known, whether it signified the conquest of any particular region or was aimed at conveying an impression of the imperial might of Gāṅgeyadeva. It may be suggested that the king was trying to imitate the glory of the Gupta kings and so borrowed the figure of the goddess Lakshmī on the reverse. We know that he assumed the title of

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[1] *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 205-6.

Vikramāditya probably in imitation of the Gupta kings. This is, however, not to imply that there is a very close similarity between the Lakshmī on the Gupta coins and that on the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. In any case, the partiality of Gāṅgeyadeva for Lakshmī is reflected in the name he selected for his son—Lakshmīkarṇa. It is further to be noted that though the Kalachuri kings were Śaivas, the seals accompanying their land-grants have the figure of Lakshmī with an elephant on either side.

This type was used also by the Chandella kings. Some kings of the Tomara (? Yadu), Gāhaḍavāla and Chāhamāna dynasties also adopted it. We will describe their coins in a later context.

Coins of the Chandellas

The first Chandella king to mint coins was Kīrtivarman. It is likely that when under Lakshmīkarṇa the Kalachuris occupied the Chandella dominions for the time being the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva came into circulation there. Later on when Kīrtivarman succeeded in driving away the Kalachuris, he might have thought it befitting to proclaim his victory by adopting their coin-type. D. W. MacDowall[1] suggests that his coins were copied from type 4 of Gāṅgeyadeva.

Sallakshaṇa, whose name appears as Hallakshaṇa on his coins, continued this type, though his coins appear to have been of slightly baser gold. On his copper coins he replaces the figure of Lakshmī by that of Hanumān under a canopy[2].

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[1] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1958, p. 161.

[2] Following Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 79 scholars generally attribute the figure on some copper coins of the Chandellas to Hanumān—Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 251 ; Altekar, *JNSI*, IV, p. 83 ; Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p. clxxxvii. But in an article which has been published recently (*JNSI*, XXVIII, pp. 68-70), when our own monograph was in an advanced stage of printing, M. G. Dikshit argues that the figure may be identified as a warrior. A few points can be raised in favour of the view but as the figure on the available pieces is not distinct we cannot make a definite statement accepting or rejecting the theory. Until a better specimen is recovered we retain the generally accepted attribution. We may however note that the figures do not have the tail and the mace characteristic of Hanumān. But in a facing figure one cannot expect the tail to be depicted. Moreover, the idol of Hanumān, in the Hanumān temple at Khajuraho, which belongs to the Chandella period, is without a tail ; here even the mace is absent—*Khajuraho* (published by the Directorate of Information and Publicity, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal), Plate No. 80. On one coin (*CMI*, Pl. VIII. 17) the right hand of the figure is lifted in the same manner in which we find it in the case of the Hanumān idol. On this specimen at least one may see some traces of what could have been a mace. The striking pose (*pavitrā*) may be noticed in the case of some sculptures of warriors from Khajuraho, but it is equally characteristic of Hanumān. The curved shield and the hilted sword are clear on the coin of Jayavarman (*CMI*, Pl. VIII. 17) alone and have parallels in the sculptured figures of warriors from Khajuraho—

For the reign of Jayavarman we have only copper coins with the figure of Hanumān. On one of his coins referred to by A. S. Altekar[1] the figure of Hanumān is depicted in a flying pose.

For Pṛithvīvarman we have only copper coins of the usual Hanumān type.

Madanavarman's gold coins have the usual figure of a seated goddess, though the figure is ruder than on the coins of earlier kings. His coins show the same transition from base gold to silver gilt and silver that we notice between types 5 and 8 of Gāṅgeyadeva.[2] His copper coins continued the Hanumān type. The British Museum cabinet possesses a copper coin of Madanavarman with the figure of a four-armed seated goddess on the obverse and the legend *Śrīman-Madanava(rmman)* on the reverse.[3] It seems that Madanavarman and later Chandella kings[4] used both the seated goddess and Hanumān types for their copper coins.

For the reign of Paramardi we find only one gold coin[5] of the seated goddess type, but the figure is so rude as to look like a caricature.

After the Chandellas had recovered from reverses at the hands of the Chāhamānas, Trailokyavarman continued the gold coins with the very rude figure of the seated goddess and the copper coins of the usual Hanumān type.

For Vīravarman we have only two gold coins[6] of the usual type but the legend on the obverse is *Śrīmad-Vīravarmadharādeva* which describes the king as a divinity on earth. In the British Museum one copper coin of the seated goddess type seems to have on the reverse the name of Vīravarmmadeva.[7]

E. Zannas and J. Auboyer, *Khajuraho*, Pls. CX, CXII, CXIII. The bun of hair suspending from behind the head, the circular *kuṇḍala* and the *hāra* are not characteristic of the warriors from Khajuraho to the extent M. G. Dikshit thinks. Moreover, their appearance on the Chandella coins is also not a characteristic feature. The *hāra* can be seen only on the coin of Pṛithvīvarman, and the *kuṇḍala* is found only on the coin of Jayavarman (very much outsized beyond proportion). Even if we admit the attribution of the figure to a warrior, we will have to find out a convincing explanation or justification for its presence on the coins.

[1] *JNSI*, IV, p. 33.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1958, p. 161.

[3] N. S. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, p. 183. This has been confirmed for me by Dr. B. N. Mukherjee.

[4] N. S. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, p. 183 says that the British Museum has two copper *drammas* in which the name of the king is obscure (one of the name appearing to be Vīravarmmadeva), with the figure of the four-armed goddess on one side.

[5] *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXVI. 8.

[6] ibid, 10; *JNSI*, XVI, pp. 236-8.

[7] N. S. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, p. 183.

It is suggested that the Hanumān type of the Chandella coins was influenced by the *Ādivarāha* type of the Pratihāras.[1] Such an influence is not unlikely because the Chandellas were originally the feudatories of the Pratihāras. But Hanumān had become such a popular deity in this period that there is no need to imagine any influence for his figure. Our suggestion receives support from the large image of Hanumān discovered at Khajuraho. The Hanumān type was also adopted by the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. We discuss their coins of this type in a later context.

V

DYNASTIES ADOPTING BULL AND HORSEMAN AND SEATED GODDESS TYPES

Tomaras (? Yadus of Bayana)

Cunningham[2] describes the coinage of the Tomaras of Delhi under the following kings and gives their approximate dates.

1.	Sallakshaṇapāladeva	A. D. 978-1003
2.	Ajayapāladeva	A. D. 1003-1019
3.	Kumārapāladeva	A. D. 1019-1049
4.	Anaṅgapāladeva	A. D. 1049-1079
5.	Mahīpāla	A. D. 1103-1128

The coins of Sallakshaṇapāladeva have on the obverse a rude figure of a horseman carrying lance to right with the marginal legend *Śrī Sallakshaṇapāladeva*, whereas the reverse has the figure of a recumbent humped bull to left in outline with the legend *Śrī Sāmantadeva*.[3] On the coins of Ajayapāladeva the obverse has in large characters the legend *Śrī Ajayapāladeva* in three lines, whereas the reverse has the four-armed figure of Lakshmī seated. The coins of Kumārapāladeva[4] are of the seated goddess type, but Aṇaṅgapāladeva[5] reverts back to

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1. *IA*, XXXVII, p. 147.
2. *CMI*, p. 85.
3. H. de Shortt, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314 suggests that 7 doubtful coins of the Tomara dynasty may be earlier than the coins of Sallakshaṇapāladeva.
4. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, pp. 60-61 reads *rājā* after the king's name on the reverse of some coins of Anaṅgapāladeva, and on the obverse, in some cases, reads *Mādhava* or *Asāvarī*. Shortt, *loc. cit.*, p. 315 does not find *Mādhava* or *Asāvarī* on any of the coins of Anaṅgapāladeva in a hoard examined by him. He, again, finds only *jā* which appears as a separate symbol. These very coins have *chā* to the left of the bull on the obverse. On these coins with *jā* and *chā* the *jhūl* of the bull is bordered, but has no symbol upon it.
5. Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 85) reads the name as *Śrī Anaṅgapāla Deva*. But Smith (*CCIM*, I, p. 259, f. n. 1) followed by Shortt (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 320) reads it as *Śrī Aṇaṅgapāla Deva*. But none of the coins illustrated by them has the full legend. Cunningham (loc. cit.) reads the legend on the reverse as *Mādhava Śrī Sāmanta Deva*. Here also the coins have the legend simply as *Śrī Sāmantadeva* without any trace of *Mādhava* preceding it.

the horseman and bull type[1] and discontinues the seated goddess type. Mahīpāla[2] adopts both the types[3]. It was in imitation of his example that Muhammad bin Sām or Shihāb-ud-dīn struck coins of these two types.

The Tomaras seem to have borrowed the horseman and bull type from the coins of the Shāhi kings of Ohind and the seated goddess type from those of Gāṅgeyadeva, the Kalachuri king. The coins of the Shāhi kings, being extremely common in Afghanistan, the Punjab and throughout Northern India, must have been known to the Tomara kings.[4] But the possibility of the Tomaras borrowing the seated goddess type started by Gāṅgeyadeva creates difficulties for the dates suggested by Cunningham. If these dates are correct[5], we have to assume three improbable situations, viz., that Gāṅgeyadeva had already started the series of his coins in the first four years of his reign (1015-19), that Ajayapāladeva did not mint his coins before the last four years of his reign (1015-19), and that within these four years the coin series initiated by Gāṅgeyadeva had acquired such a wide circulation as to be copied in another kingdom.

D. W. MacDowall[6] avoids the chronological difficulty by describing Kumārapāladeva (1019-49) as the first Tomara king to strike coins of the seated goddess type. In view of the degree of debasement in the figure of the seated goddess, the metal and fabric of the coins with the legend *Śrī Ajayapāladeva*, MacDowall thinks that the date A.D. 1003-19 is too early and attributes these coins to the second half of the twelfth century.

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[1] On the coins of Sallakshaṇapāladeva and Anaṅgapāladeva we find marks on the saddle cloth (*jhūl*) of the bull. H. de S. Shortt, *Op. cit.*, pp. 314 f rightly points out that as all the 85 coins of Sallakshaṇapāladeva from a particular hoard have the same mark, it is not likely that the sign denotes a regnal year. Of 166 coins of Anaṅgapāladeva in this hoard 23 do not have any mark. The marks on the rest are of 9 types. Of these two marks occur only once each. Dr. Allan suggests that five of these represent five numerals. But, as observed by Shortt, there are gaps in the series and the exact significance of the marks has yet to be determined.

[2] Cunningham (*CMI*, p. 85) reads the name as *Mahipāla* but the legend is clearly *Mahīpāla*.

[3] As contrasted with horseman and bull type of other kings the legend appears along with the figure of the bull and not with that of the horseman.

[4] Firishta states that the Rājā of Delhi along with others supplied contingent to help the Shāhi king Jayapāla against Sabukitgīn—R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 4. If the Rājā of Delhi referred to here was a member of the Tomara dynasty, this may be utilised to suggest friendly contacts between the Shāhis and the Tomaras.

[5] Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 256, f. n. 1 observes that the dates given by Cunningham are open to doubt and the history of the dynasty generally requires discussion.

[6] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1958, p. 162.

Tradition speaks of the foundation of Delhi by the Tomaras in A.D. 736. Tomaras are included in the traditional list of thirty-six Rajput clans. They ruled over the Hariyāṇa country from their capital at Delhi until the middle of the twelfth century, when they were overthrown by the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja III Vīsaladeva. But the dynasty of the kings whose coins we are discussing was not Tomara, as Cunningham thought, but a Yadu dynasty ruling in Bayāna in the old Bharatpur state[1]. The bardic history of the family is confirmed by epigraphic testimony. Vijayapāla of the traditional list is to be identified with king Vijaya mentioned in the Bayana inscription of A.D. 1044. He was followed in succession by Tāhanapāla, Dharmapāla, Kunwarapāla and Ajayapāla. But the epigraphic records suggest that Kunwarapāla came long after Ajayapāla. We learn from the Mahaban *praśasti* that Ajayapāla was ruling in A.D. 1150. For the reign of his successor Haripāla we get the date A.D. 1170 in an inscription from Mahaban. Sohapāla, the next ruler in the traditional list, is the same as Sahanapāladeva mentioned in an image inscription from Aghapur dated A.D. 1192 and may be identified with Sallakshaṇapāladeva of our coins. Next in succession may be placed Kunwarapāla or Kumārapāla of our coins who in a Muslim source is said to have been defeated by Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad Ghūrī in A.D. 1196. After Kumārapāla the order of succession was Anaṅgapāla, Pṛithvīpāla, Rājapāla and Trilokapāla.

If Mahīpāla of the coins is to be included in this dynasty, which appears likely from the similarity in the coin-types, he may be identified with king Pṛithvīpāla of the bardic list. Coins of Mahīpāladeva show the same change from base gold to silver and silvered bronze that takes place between types 5 and 9 of Gāṅgeyadeva[2].

The revised chronology which we suggest in view of the epigraphic evidence shows that Ajayapāladeva was ruling in A. D. 1150. This removes the chronological difficulty in ascribing the coins with the legend *Śrī Ajayapāladeva* to Ajayapāladeva of the Yadu dynasty of Bharatpur. This suits MacDowall who assigns these coins to the second half of the twelfth century. But, whereas the chronological table places Ajayapāladeva before Kumārapāladeva, MacDowall derives the coins of Kumārapāladeva from type 3 of Gāṅgeyadeva and describes the coins of Ajayapāladeva as contemporary with type 8 of Gāṅgeyadeva. Unless, however, another probable identification is suggested we may continue to ascribe these coins to

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[1] R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed.), *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 55f.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1958, p. 162.

Ajayapāladeva of the Yadu dynasty, more so, firstly because, as has been noticed, coins of the early medieval period are found to have been struck even long after the death of the man who originally started them, and secondly because, the changes noticed by MacDowall in the successive types are in some cases not very prominent and obvious. The coins of Ajayapāladeva are rare and the discovery of more coins may help us in reaching a conclusive view.

In the light of the revised chronology of the dynasty we may present the history of its coin-types accordingly. Thus Ajayapāla was the first king of the dynasty to mint coins. His coins are of the seated goddess type which was adopted by Kumārapāla. Sallakshaṇapāla (or Sahanapāla) followed by Anaṅgapāla discontinued the seated goddess type and took to horseman and bull type. Mahīpāla (? Pṛithvīpāla) however retained both the types[1].

Recently M. C. Joshi[2] has suggested that of the coins ascribed to the Tomaras only those of Sallakshaṇapāla, Anaṅgapāla and Mahīpāla (with horseman-bull type) are to be described as Tomara coins and that the coins bearing the legend Ajayapāladeva, Kumārapāladeva and Mahīpāladeva (with seated goddess type) were not Tomara issues. His view is based on the assumption that the bull and horseman type was popular with the kings of north-western India while the seated goddess type was followed by kings who exercised sway over some parts of Central India. He seems to argue that in view of the geographical area under the control of the Tomaras they could have minted coins only of the bull and horseman type but never those of the seated goddess type. But in such cases the geographical boundaries can not be said to have been fixed and static. Numismatic influences transcend geographical boundaries because of several factors. Joshi describes the bull and horseman coins of Chāhaḍadeva from Narwar as exceptions to the geographical demarcation he proposes; but, I must say, this is by no means a convenient exception[3]. Moreover, the presence of the horseman device on the obverse of the coins of other rulers of Narwar, though associated with the three lined legend device on the reverse characteristic of Central India, is in itself a very strong proof to show that the numismatic tradition of north-western India was not confined to the geographical limits determined by Joshi but travelled to Narwar which was not an area touching or adjoining the boundaries of north-western India. Comparatively speaking the presence of seated goddess type on the Tomara coins is easier to account for. The seated goddess type was adopted by Govindachandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. As the boundaries of the Gāhaḍavāla and Tomara kingdoms were co-terminus there should not be any surprise over the Tomaras adopting the seated goddess type.

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[1] We cannot offer any convincing explanation why Sallakshaṇapāla adopted the horseman and bull type and discontinued the seated goddess type and why Mahīpāla revived the seated goddess type.

[2] *JNSI*, XXVII, pp. 41-45.

[3] M. C. Joshi, *JNSI*, XXVIi, p. 43, f. n. 4 suggests that in Central India Chāhaḍadeva introduced this type on the pattern of Chāhamāna currency after the fall of Pṛithvīrāja III to uphold the idea of Hindu supremacy during the Muslim rule, and that the Narwar kings were the migrated descendants of the defeated Hindu chiefs of N. W. India.

M. C. Joshi is silent about the identification of Ajayapāladeva and Kumārapāladeva whose coins of the seated goddess type is described by him as not belonging to the Tomara series. However he ascribes the seated goddess type of Mahīpāla to king Mahīpāla of the Kachchhapaghāṭa family. He holds that Mahīpāladeva of the seated goddess type cannot be identical with Mahīpāla of the bull and horseman type. According to him the absence of the latter variety in the 313 issues of Mahīpāladeva in the Jhansi hoard supports this assumption. In the Jhansi hoard there are 5 coins of king Madanavarman. This shows, according to Joshi, that the hoard was buried in the early years of the reign of Madanavarman of the Chandella dynasty and Mahīpāladeva ruled before him.[1] The differences in the two coin-types of any king, following two different traditions, should not cause much surprise. The composition of a single hoard cannot be a decisive argument.[2] The seated goddess type of Mahīpāla is not necessarily confined to Central India but has been reported from several places, all over northern India.[3]

R. D. Banerji[4] suggests that the coins with the name of Mahīpāla are to be attributed to king Mahīpāla I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. But this is improbable because the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings are not known to have adopted the seated goddess or horseman and bull type; their coins are only found issued in the names of Bhoja I and Vināyakapāla and all bear the Indo-Sassanian device. Again, the attribution of these coins to Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty will create a serious chronological difficulty ; his reign could not in any case have lasted after A. D. 945[1], some sixty years before Gāṅgeyadeva came to the throne. How are we, then, to explain his coins of the seated goddess type, which type is generally taken by scholars to have been introduced by Gāṅgeyadeva ?

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[1] M. C. Joshi, *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 44 rightly dismisses the suggestion to identify Mahīpāla with Prithvīvarman, the father of Madanavarman of the Chandella dynasty. Though Mahī and Prithvī are synonyms, the transformation of varman into pāla is difficult to explain. Moreover, we have separate coins with the name Prithvīvarman on them.

[2] The provenance of the coins of this period has not been carefully recorded and studied. A systematic investigation of the provenanee may throw welcome light on many problems. So far as the present hoard is concerned the few hours spent in a Kotwali can hardly be adequate to lead to any conclusion on the basis of their individual details, weight and metallic contents; it is the amount of actual wear and tear which can suggest which coin is earlier or later.

[3] *JNSI*, XXVI, p. 236

[4] *JASB*, N. S., No. XXXIII, 202.

Ajayapāla[2] and Kumārapāla[3] of the Tomara series of coins are sometimes described as belonging to the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat. But the provenance of these coins does not show that they were meant for circulation in the Chaulukya empire, though they may be occasionally reported from some part of the empire.[4] It may be noted that from literary and epigraphic records we learn of coins minted by king Bhīma of the Chaulukya dynasty[5] and Vīsaladeva of the Vāghela dynasty ;[6] but there is no such tradition for coins connected with the names of Ajayapāla and Kumārapāla of the Chaulukya dynasty.

Gāhaḍavālas

In the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty Madanapāla was the first king to mint coins. His coins have on the obverse the figure of a horseman with lance to right and the marginal legend *Śrī Madana-pāla*, whereas the reverse has the figure of a recumbent humped bull in outline and the legend *Mādhava Śrī Sāmanta-deva*. We find variations in the harness on the horse's flank. Excepting a solitary, which has २, the saddle-cloth on these coins has the mark \.[7] The additional *Mādhava* is difficult to explain. If it stands for Kṛishṇa,[8] then it may have a purely religious association. Thomas[9] interprets it as an instance of the veneration in which Sāmantadeva was held. But, in view of the absence of relevant evidence it is difficult to suggest any connection between the two persons, or any explanation for such a veneration, unless we conjecture that Sāmantadeva had received a legendary hallow. The horseman

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1. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 33-37.
2. R. D. Banerji, *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 202-3.
3. A. Banerji, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 237-40.
4. A. Benerji, *JNSI*, XXVI, pp. 239-40 argues to show that the recovery of a coin of Chaulukya Kumārapāla from Punjab is not inherently improbable because it could reach there through conquest or trade.
5. *EI*, XI, p. 59 ; *Purātana-Prabandha-Saṅgraha*, pp. 33, 34, 65, 95 ; *Dravyaparikshā* ; *JNSI*, XVII, p. 71.
6. *Lekhapaddhati*, pp. 33, 37, 39, 42, 55; *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 72 f.
7. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 315.
8. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, p. 61 ; *CCIM*, I, p. 260.
9. Ibid., p. 10.

and bull type being common in northern India its adoption by Madanapāla had probably no special significance.[1]

His son Govindachandra adopted the seated goddess type initiated by Gāṅgeyadeva and had on the obverse in bold characters *Śrīmad-Govindachandra-deva* in three lines, followed by the figure of a trident, probably as a mint-mark. His coins resemble type 5 of Gāṅgeyadeva, and the metal changes from pure base gold to silver gilt and silver[2]. As a considerable part of the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom was previously under the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri the coins of Gāṅgeyadeva must have been in circulation there. It is, however, not unlikely that the adoption of the type signified some conquest like that of Daśārṇa, which was under king Madanavarman of the Chandella dynasty[3] who also is known to have minted seated goddess type of coins. The adoption of this would seem to have greater justification if it was meant to celebrate a victory over the Kalachuri dominion because the type is known to have been initiated by king Gāṅgeyadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty.[4]

Cunningham[5] and W. W. Webb[6] following Prinsep[7] attributed some coins of seated goddess type with the legend *Śrī Ajayadeva* on the obverse to king Jayachchandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty. Though the suggestion is not inherently improbable, the transformation of the name is rather far-fetched and the coins may with greater probability be ascribed to the Chāhamāna king Ajayarāja.[8]

Chāhamānas

If the seated goddess coins with the obverse legend *Śrī Ajayadeva* are attributed to king Ajayarāja of the Chāhamāna dynasty he will have to be regarded as the first Chāhamāna king to mint coins. The attribution would seem likely from the reference in the *Prithvīrājavijaya*[9] that Ajayarāja filled the world with *rūpakas* (silver coins) and the coins with the legend *Śrī Ajayadeva* are even now abundant[1].

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[1] M. C. Joshi, *JNSI*, XXVII, p. 43, f. n. 1, suggests that Madanapāla adopted this type which was a popular currency of N. W. India in this period in order to get general recognition as the overlord of Kānyakubja and Indrasthānīyaka (Delhi) country after the conquest of these regions by his father, Chandradeva. If this suggestion is to be accepted the type should have been adopted better by Chandradeva who conquered these regions.

[2] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1958, p. 161.

[3] R.C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker (Ed), *The Struggle for Empire*, p.53

[4] R. Niyogi, *History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty*, pp. 74 f, 86.

[5] *CMI*, p. 87. MacDowall, *op. cit.*, p. 162 describes these base silver and silvered copper coins of dumpy fabric as issued in the name of Ajayachandra (c. 1165-93). But the coin illustrated by him has the reading *Śrī Ajayadeva.*

[6] *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, p. 39, Pl. IV. 1.

[7] *Essays*, I, p. 292.

[8] G. H. Ojha, *IA*, 1912, pp. 209–10.

[9] V. 88.

Some copper coins have on the obverse the figure of a horseman and on the reverse the name of the queen Somaladevī[2] generally identified with Somalekhā the queen of Ajayarāja[3] called Somalladevī in the Bijolia inscription.[4] Her silver coins are of the Indo-Sassanian type with the rude figure of a king's head on the obverse. A.K. Majumdar[5] suggests that these coins with the name of Somaladevī may better be attributed to Sūmaladevī, the queen of Bhīma II of the Chaulukya dynasty and that these coins represent the *Bhīmapriya-drammas* of the inscriptions. But we would support the generally accepted view because the *Pṛithvīrājavijaya*[6] definitely records that Somalekhā, the queen of the Chāhamāna king Ajayapāla, used to strike new coins everyday. In the case of Sūmaladevī though we find that she issued a land-grant jointly with her husband king Bhīma[7], there is no tradition that she ever minted any coin with her name on it. Additional arguments in support of the Chāhamāna queen are : the discovery of the coins from areas which formed part of the Chāhamāna empire, the devise of horseman on the reverse appearing on the coins of other Chāhamāna rulers and the discovery of a pot which contains coins only of Ajayadeva and Somaladevī[8].

The next member of the Chāhamāna dynasty to issue coins was Someśvaradeva. The obverse of his coins has the figure of a horseman with lance to right and the legend *Śrī Someśvaradeva*[9]. On the reverse we find the figure of a recumbent humped bull with the legend generally read as *Asāvarī Śrī Sāmanta-*

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[1] The Manal inscription of V. S. 1225 and the Dhod inscription of V. S. 1228 indicate that Ajayadeva's coins were in use in the Chāhamāna kingdom—*IA*, 1912 p. 209 ; D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 41.

[2] *CMI*, Pl. VI. 11. Prinsep, *Essays*, I, p. 304 reads the legend as *Śrī Sāmantapāladeva* or *Śrī Sāmaladeva*. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 53 reads it to be *Śrī Somaladeva*. Rapson, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 121 was the first to give the correct reading. But he could not suggest a definite identification for the queen. He simply noted that Somalladevī was the name of a queen of Jājalladeva II of the Kalachuri family of Ratnapura.

[3] *IA*, 1912, pp. 210-11.

[4] *EI*, XXVI, p. 94.

[5] *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 269 f.

[6] V. 90.

[7] *IA*, VI, pp. 207 f.

[8] D. Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 41, f.n. 58. Also *IA*, 1912, pp. 209-11 ; *Nāgari-pracharinī-patrikā*, XLV, pp. 357 ff.

[9] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 322 ; *CMI*, p. 86. But the coins illustrated in *CCIM*, I, Pl. XXVI. 19 and *CMI*, Pl. IX. 9 have the letters *Some* or *Śrī Some* alone.

deva[1]. The mark appears on the saddle-cloth. The significance of the word *Asāvarī*[2] is not clear. Thomas[3], followed by Smith[4], explains Asāvarī as a title of Durgā, used like Mādhava on the coins of Madanapāladeva of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, to venerate Sāmantadeva. We think that what is taken to be *va* is really *pu*. According to the *Prithvīrājavijaya*[5] Āśāpurī was the tutelary deity of the Chāhamānas protecting the Salt Lake in Śākambharī. It is quite likely that the expression on the coin was prefixed to refer to the goddess. However, we do not know why did Someśvara adopt this type.

Except for the name *Śrī Prithvīrājadeva* on the obverse, the coins of Pṛithvīrāja follow the type adopted by his father Someśvaradeva- including the legend on the reverse. On some coins of Pṛithvīrāja the reverse legend is *Śrī Mahamad Sāme* in place of *Asāvarī Śrī-Sāmantadeva.* Cunningham[6] suggests that these coins refer to the period between 1191 and 1193 when Pṛithvīrāja ruled as a tributary of his Muslim adversary.

The Chauhān dynasty of Patna founded in the beginning of the thirteenth century did not follow the numismatic traditions of the imperial Chauhān dynasty. King Rāmadeva (c. 1212-1271 A. D.), the founder of this family, struck gold coins[7]. On the obverse of these coins is a lion; in front of it is a conch (*śaṅkha*) with dots below and above it. Above the lion there are two symbols: (a) a circle or a square with lines protruding out in four directions, and (b) two short perpendicular lines sometimes with curved heads. The first may be *chakra* or the disc of Vishṇu. The second symbol may represent a pair of serpent. According to a tradition king Rāmadeva was protected by a cobra in his childhood. The reverse has a legend in two lines, the first being *Śrī Rāma*, and the second, *Patanā*. The third consists of numerals ranging from 8 to 59, which refer to the date of issue in terms of the regnal years of the king.

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1. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 322; *CMI*, p. 86. On the coin illustrated in *CCIM*, I *Sāmanta* alone is visible. Smith, *CCIM*, I, p. 261 describes but does not illustrate a coin with the legend *Asāvarī Śrī Sāma(nta deva)*. In *CMI*, Pl. IX. 9 traces of *Asāvarī* are to be found before *Śrī Sāma(nta)*.
2. We wonder if the term is even remotely connected with *aśvārohī* meaning 'horse-rider'.
3. *Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, p. 61.
4. *CCIM*, I, p. 261.
5. IV. 84.
6. *CMI*, p. 86, f.n. 51
7. *JNSI*, V, pp. 61-64.

VI

HANUMĀN TYPE AND LION ATTACKING ELEPHANT TYPE

Coins of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur

The Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur are not known to have adopted any of the widely common types of the period. Until recently all their known coins were issued by Jājalladeva Pṛithvīdeva, Ratnadeva and Pratāpamalla. But the Dhanpur (Bilaspur) hoard of the copper coins of the Kalachuris has made a strong case that the earliest known members of this branch Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja or both did strike some coins even though they acknowledged the suzerainty of the main branch of the Kalachuris. On one type of coin the reverse has the figure of flying Hanumān, whereas the second line of the legend on the obverse reads *rajadeva*. Thus, this coin may belong either to Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja. Another type with a lion attacking an elephant on the reverse, and the obverse having *Śrīmat* in the first line and *ja* before *deva* in the second line may also be attributed to one of these two kings.[1]

If this attribution is accepted important conclusions will follow about the coin-types of the Kalachuris and the Chandellas. Previously it was held that Jājalladeva I, after forming an alliance with the Chandella king Sallakshaṇavarman, started his Hanumān type by slightly varying the type found on the coins of the Chandella king[2]. But now it would appear that if the two types were not independently evolved, which is very likely in view of the popularity of Hanumān in this period, the borrowing was the other way. In any case, the flying Hanumān type represented by a coin of the Chandella king Jayavarman will now have to be regarded as most likely an adoption from the Kalachuri coins.

The Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris has several kings, all named Jājalladeva, Pṛithvīdeva or Ratnadeva. It, therefore, becomes very difficult to determine who among the different kings possessing the same name struck the various varieties of coins having that name.[3] It is not unlikely that some of these coins were struck by an earlier king of that name while others are to be ascribed to later ones. The arguments advanced in favour of the different views do not establish anything conclusively and so, to be on the safer side, we are including all the coins having the same name in one group without saying whether the king was the first, second or third of that name.

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[1] *JNSI*, XVIII, pp. 111-12.

[2] Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p. clxxxviii. Cf. N.S. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, p. 182.

[3] Hoernle, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1898, p. 3, and V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, pp. clxxxv-clxxxix—Jājalladeva I, Ratnadeva II and Pṛithvīdeva II; Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 76—Pṛithvīdeva I, Jājalladeva I and Ratnadeva II; Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 254-55—Pṛithvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III. See also Allan, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1937, pp. 298 ff.

The gold coins of Jājalladeva have on the obverse the legend in three or two lines inside a circle of dots and covering the whole surface *Śrīmaj-Jājalladeva*, whereas on the reverse the figure is that of a lion with tail upraised to right jumping on the elephant lying prostrate below[1]. Cunningham[2] illustrates two copper coins in the British Museum with the legend *Śrīmaj-Jājalladeva* in two lines on the obverse but following Hoernle he describes the "lion attacking the elephant" device as being a very crude figure of Hanumān. Mirashi[3] describes the copper coins of Jājalladeva which have the obverse with two-lined legend, but on the reverse we find the figure of two-armed Hanumān to left trampling a demon.

On the gold coins of Ratnadeva the obverse has the legend *Śrīmad-Ratnadeva* in two lines, whereas the reverse contains the figure of a lion to right attacking an elephant. There are no copper coins of Ratnadeva with the Hanumān device on the reverse. Instead we have three types of reverse devices on his copper coins. On one coin illustrated by Cunningham the figure is of a lion attacking an elephant.[4] On some coins we have the figure of a lion to right with tail upraised.[5] V. V. Mirashi[6] describes the device on others as being a sheathed dagger below some indistinct object, possibly the debased figure of a lion. The legend on the obverse of the third type is also incomplete (*Śrī-mad-Ra*(*tna*)*deva*.

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[1] The device on the reverse is rudely executed and so has been variously interpreted by scholars. See Hoernle, *Proc. of the A. S. B*, 1893, pp. 92 ff, 141 ff; Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 73 ff; Rapson in *CMI*, pp. 75 ff, f.n. 45; Smith, *CCIM*, I, pp. 254 ff. We accept the interpretation proposed by B.N. Nath, *JNSI*, XIII, pp. 199 ff and followed by Mirashi, *CII*, IV, p. clxxxv. Mirashi, loc. cit., p. clxxxviii suggests that the type 'Lion attacking an elephant' was introduced by Jājalladeva I to symbolise his victory over the Gaṅgas who were known as *gajapatis* or *gajādhīśas* (lords of elephants). If however the coin with this reverse type and the legend *Śrīmat* in the first line and *ja-deva* in the second line on the obverse, mentioned above is ascribed to Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja of this dynasty then the credit for introducing the type cannot be given to Jājalladeva I.

[2] *CMI*, p. 76.

[3] *CII*, IV, p. clxxxv.

[4] In describing the reverse of the coin Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 76 remarks, following Hoernle, that it has a very crude figure of Hanumān.

[5] Mirashi, *CII*, IV, Pl. A. 10.

[6] *CII*, IV, Pl. A. 11. P. L. Gupta, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 86f interprets the device to be the figure of the goddess very crudely drawn. However, A. S. Altekar, *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 87 points out that in this case the resemblance to a dagger is greater than that to the legs of a human figure.

The gold coins of Pṛithvīdeva have on the obverse the legend *Śrīmat-Pṛithvīdeva* in two lines, and on the reverse the figure of a lion with tail upraised to right with elephant lying prostrate below. His silver coins have the usual obverse with two-lined legend, but the reverse has some shapeless objects perhaps representing lion. His copper coins have both the reverse devices of the lion and Hanumān, the obverse on all coins containing the usual legend in two lines. The lion on the reverse is to right and has his tail raised. There are several sub-varieties of the Hanumān device. On some coins we have four-armed Hanumān to left, carrying a mace in his upper left hand and something (perhaps a hill) in his upper right hand ; his other two hands are engaged in seizing two demons, one on the right (off flan) and the other, whom he tramples under his right foot, on the left. Another variety has Hanumān to right, with a demon on the left. Lastly, we have on some coins Hanumān to left, with an attendant on the right and trampling a demon on the left.

The last king of this dynasty whose coins have been recovered is Pratāpamalla. One type of his coins has been described by Mirashi as having on the obverse the three-lined legend *Śrīmat-Pratāpamalladeva* and on the reverse the figure of a lion to left, looking backward. But the figure of the prostrate elephant is clear on the reverse and we may take it to be in line with the regular type of the dynasty, a lion killing an elephant. On another type of his coins the reverse has some indistinct device, perhaps a lion, whereas the obverse has, below the three-lined legend, what is interpreted by V. V. Mirashi as a sheathed dagger. But, according to P.L. Gupta[1], the crude marks below the legends represent a seated goddess. It would, therefore, appear that the seated goddess device, so common in our period, was not without influence on the coins of the Ratanpur branch of the Kalachuris. But the marks are not so clear as to be definitely connected with the seated goddess device. For the present we may retain the description of the marks suggested by Mirashi.

A comparative study of the different devices on these coins suggests some possibilities for fixing their chronology. On the coins of Kaliṅgarāja or Kamalarāja Hanumān is depicted as two-armed. It may, therefore, be suggested that the copper coins of Jājalladeva are earlier than those of Pṛithvīdeva because on the coins of the former Hanumān appears as two-armed but on those of the latter he is four-armed. The position is not affected even if the Hanumān type is taken to be adopted from the coins of the Chandella king Sallakshaṇavarma.

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[1] *JNSI*, XIV, pp. 86 f.

Again, it is to be noted that the three-lined legend on the obverse is found only on the coins of Pratāpamalla, very late in the dynastic list, and on the gold coins of Jājalladeva. Some other criteria have also been applied, but they are made to yield varying results[1]. We feel from the points referred to above that not all coins bearing the same name were struck by the same king; they may belong to two or more kings ruling in different periods but having the same name. It is, however, not possible to be more definite on this point.

VII

COW-SUCKLING-CALF TYPE

A coin-type which is so far known to have appeared on gold coins only and had a limited life was that of a cow suckling a calf. Two gold coins noticed by Rapson[2] and Allan[3] have this device on their obverse and along the edge the legend *Śrī Vatsadāmanārāyaṇa* in characters of about the eighth century. On their reverse appears the figure of Vishṇu in his Varāha incarnation trampling demons.[4]

V. V. Mirashi[5] attributes these coins to king Vatsadāman of the Śūrasena dynasty, whose princes were ruling over Kaman and Bayana during the eighth century. Though we are not sure if the device was borrowed from the seventh-eighth century stone-reliefs from Mathura and Bharatpur areas depicting a cow suckling a calf,[6] it would appear that it was suggested by the king's name Vatsadāman.[7] The close relation between the king's name and the device would indicate that the device was started by Vatsadāman.[8]

Stray coins suggest that the type was continued by other kings. G. H. Ojha[9] illustrated a coin having this device on the reverse and the legend *Śrī Voppa* on the obverse. On a similar

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1. *IHQ*, XVIII, p. 375; *O. His. Res. Jour.*, I, pp. 36ff; *JNSI*, III, pp.34-36; *ibid.*, XVII, pp. 61ff. A hoard of 600 gold coins from Bilaspur contains 459 of Pṛithvīdeva, 36 of Jājalladeva and 96 of Ratnadeva—*JAHRS*, XII, p. 169. This may suggest that the chronological order of these kings should be Jājalladeva, Ratnadeva and Pṛithvīdeva.
2. *JRAS*, 19 0, pp. 123ff.
3. *Num. Chronicle*, 1937, p. 299.
4. *IHQ*, XVIII, p. 72. Rapson took the figure to represent the Vāmana incarnation.
5. *IHQ*, XVIII, p. 71.
6. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 280 ; *JASB* (L), 1955, Pl. XVIII, fig. 37.
7. *IHQ*, XVIII, p. 73.
8. R. C. Agrawala (*JNSI*, XXII, p. 279, f.n. 3) suggests the parallelism with the early Nepalese coins. But this is not correct, because the Nepali coins do not have a calf. The legend *kāmadihi* on the Nepali coins indicates that the cow represents the celestial wish-gratifying cow.
9. *JASB* (1927), Num. Suppl. XXII, pp. 14-18.

coin noticed by Sir R. Burn[1] the legend on the reverse is *Śrī Vopparāja.*[2] Another minor difference between these two coins is that the cow on Ojha's coin faces right whereas on Burn's coin it faces left.

Voppa of these coins was previously identified with Bāppā Rāwal, the founder of the Guhila dynasty of Mewar.[3] But this attribution has recently been challenged on the ground that Mewar had an altogether different currency in the eighth century[4] and that the coins of the Guhila kings of Mewar do not bear the device of a cow suckling a calf.[5] It would appear more reasonable to identify Voppa of the coins with king Vappuka who belonged to the Śūrasena dynasty itself[6] and is mentioned in an inscription from Bayana dated V. S. 1012.[7]

On one gold coin of this type[8] the name on the obverse is found to be *Śrī Kasava* most likely standing for a king named Keśava. The identification of this king with any of the known kings is not possible. The name does not appear in the dynastic lists of either the Śūrasenas or the Guhilas of Mewar.[9]

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[1] *Proc. A.S.B.*, LXXIII (1904), Num. Suppl., p. 65, Pl. I. 2.

[2] *Num. Chronicle*, 1933, pp. 139 ff.

[3] A. S. Altekar in *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference* (Baroda, 1933), pp. 703-5.

[4] R. L. Samar in *JNSI*, XX, pp. 26 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31. Also *Ibid.*, XXII, pp. 279-80.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXII, p. 279.

[7] *EI*, XXII, pp. 120 ff.

[8] *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1933, p. 139.

[9] *JNSI*, XXII, pp. 279 f.

PART II

A LIST OF THE COIN-TYPES OF NORTHERN INDIA

(I) COINS OF KASHMIR

(i) Early Kings

1. TORAMĀṆA

Copper

(a)	Standing king in skirt and drawers offering incense at altar ; *Śrī Toramāṇa.*	Seated goddess holding lotus in l. hand, r. hand raised ; lion's head below ; *Kidāra* on l.	*CMI*, III. 2. **I. 1**[1]
(b)	Standing king ; *Śrī Tora.*	Seated goddess; *ja*(*ya*).	*CCIM*, XXVII. 2. **I. 2**
(c)	Standing king ; minute Brāhmī letters over king's l. shoulder.	Seated goddess.	*Ibid.* 3. **I. 3**
(d)	Standing king ; traces of legend.	Deity seated on throne ; traces of legend.	*Ibid.* 4. **I. 4**

2. PRAVARASENA II

Gold

(a)	Standing king ; l. hand on hip ; a seated figure below on either side ; *Śrī Pravarasena.*	Goddess seated on lion ; lotus in l. hand ; vase of flowers to l ; *Kidāra.*	*CMI*, III. 3. **I. 5**

Silver

(b)	Seated goddess ; lotus in l. hand ; *Śrī Pravara.*	Standing king ; sceptre with crescent-head in r. hand ; trident above extended l. hand ; to r. *sena* ; to l. below, *ratna* (?) ; under l. arm, *Kidāra.*	*Ibid.* 4. **I. 6**

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[1] These figures refer to the plates in the present monograph.

3. LAKHAṆA NARENDRĀDITYA

Gold

(a)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Narendra.*	Standing king ; *Kidā*(*ra*).	*Ibid.* 5. **I. 7**

4. GOKARṆA (?)[1]

Copper

(a)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Gokarṇa.*	Standing king ; *Kidā*(*ra*).	*Ibid.* 6. **I. 8**

(ii) Karkoṭa dynasty

1. DURLABHAVARDHANA

Gold

(a)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Durlabha* ; to l. *deva.*	Standing king; *jaya*(*ti*) and *Kidā*(*ra*).	*Ibid.* 7. **I. 9**

2. PRATĀPĀDITYA II DURLABHAKA

Gold

(a)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Pratāpa.*	Standing king ; *Ki*(*dāra*).	*CCIM,* XXVII. 5. **I. 10**

Copper

(b)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Pratāpa.*	Standing king ; *Ki*(*dāra*).	*CMI,* III. 9. **I. 11**

3. LALITĀDITYA MUKTĀPĪḌA (PRATĀPĀDITYA)

Copper

(a)	Seated goddess ; *Śrī Pratāpa.*	Standing king ; *Ki*(*dāra*).	*Ibid.* 10. **I. 12**
(b)	Seated goddess ; *Śrīja Pratāpa.*	Standing king ; *Ki*(*dāra*).	*JNSI,* X, Pl. IV. A. 3. **II. 1**

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[1] The only known Gokarṇa in the history of Kashmir was the father of Narendrāditya Khiṅkhila whose reign will be too early for the degenerated type.

4. VINAYĀDITYA (JAYĀPĪḌA)

Gold

(a) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Vinay(āditya).*	Standing king ; *jaya(ti)* and *Ke(dāra).*	*CMI,* III.14. **II. 2**

Copper

(b) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Vina(yāditya).*	Standing king ; *jaya(ti)* and *Ke(dāra).*	*CCIM,* XXVII. 7[1]. **II. 3**
(c) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Jaya.*	Standing king; *Ki(dāra).*	*CMI,* III.17. **II. 4**

5. NAMBI (?)[2]

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Nambi* ; to l. *haka.*	Standing king ; *jaya(ti).*	*Ibid.* 12. **II. 5**

6. VIGRAHA (?)[2]

Gold

(a) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Vigraha.*	Standing king ; *Kidā(ra).*	*Ibid.* 8. **II. 6**

Copper

(b) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Vi(graha).*	Standing king ; *Kidā(ra).*	*CCIM,* XXVII, 8[3]. **II. 7**

(iii) Utpala Dynasty[4]

1. ŚAṄKARAVARMAN (YAŚOVARMAN)

Gold

(a) Seated goddess ; *Śrī Yaśo(varma).*	Standing king ; *Ki(dāra).*	*CMI,* III. 11. **II. 8**

Copper

(b) Seated goddess ; *Śaṅka(ra).*	Standing king ; *varma.*	*Ibid.* IV. 1. **II. 9**

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[1] On p. 269, *CCIM* describes it as a copper coin.

[2] It is difficult to identify Nambi and Vigraha with any known king of Kashmir.

[3] On p. 269, *CCIM* describes it as a copper coin.

[4] The coin attributed by Cunningham to Ādityavarman (Avantivarman) belongs to Nirjitavarman.

2. GOPĀLAVARMAN

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Gopāla.*	Standing king; *varma.*	*Ibid.* 3. **II. 10**

3. q. SUGANDHĀ

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī*; to r. *Suga(ndhā).*	Standing king; *devya.*	*Ibid.* 4. **II. 11**

4. PĀRTHAVARMAN

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Pārtha.*	Standing king; *varma.*	*Ibid.* 5. **II. 12**

5. NIRJITAVARMAN

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Nirji(ta).*	Standing king; *varma.*	*Ibid.* 2. **III. 1**

6. CHAKRAVARMAN

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Cha(kra).*	Standing king; *(Va)rma Deva.*	*Ibid.* 6. **III. 2**

7. UNMATTĀVANTIVARMAN

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Śrī.*	Standing king; *Unma.*	*Ibid.* 7. **III. 3**

(iv) Dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta

1. YAŚASKARA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Ya*; to r. *skara.*	Standing king; *deva.*	*Ibid.* 8 **III. 4**

2. PARVAGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī*; to r. *rvva*.	Standing king; *gupta*.	*Ibid*. 9. **III. 5**

3. KSHEMAGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; *Kshema-gu*.	Standing king; *ptade*(*va*).	*Ibid*. 10. **III. 6**

3A. [with q. DIDDĀ]

(b) Seated goddess; to l. *Di*; to r. *Kshema*.	Standing king; *gupta*.	*Ibid*. 11. **III. 7**
(c) As above.	As above; no legend.	*CCIM*, XXVII. 10. **III. 8**

4. ABHIMANYUGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *A*; to r. *bhimanyu*.	Standing king; *gupta*.	*CMI*, IV.12 **III. 9**

5. NANDIGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Na*; to r. *ndigu*.	Standing king; *ptade* (*va*).	*Ibid*. 13. **III. 10**

6. TRIBHUVANAGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Tri*; to r. *bhuva*(*na*).	Standing king; *gupta*.	*Ibid*. 14. **III. 11**

7. BHĪMAGUPTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Bhī*; to r. *magu*.	Standing king; *pta*.	*Ibid*. 15. **III. 12**

8. q. DIDDĀ

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī*; to r. *Diddā*.	Standing king; *devya*.	*Ibid.* 16. **IV. 1**

(v) First Lohara Dynasty

1. SAṄGRĀMARĀJA

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Sa*; to r. *ṅgrāma(rā)*.	Standing king; *jadeva*.	*Ibid.*, V. 17. **IV. 2**

2. ANANTA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *A*; to r. *nantarā*.	Standing king; *jadeva*.	*Ibid.* 18. **IV. 3**

3. KALAŚA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Ka*; to r. *laśarā*.	Standing king; *jadeva*.	*Ibid.* 19. **IV. 4**

Billon

(b) Seated goddess; to l. *Ka*; to r. *laśa*.	Standing king; *prama*.	*Ibid.* 20. **IV. 5**

4. HARSHA

Gold

(a) Horseman with lance; *Harshadeva*.	Seated goddess.	*Ibid.* 21. **IV. 6**
(b) Elephant.	(1) *Śrī Ha*(*rsha*) (2) *deva*.	*Ibid.* 22. **IV. 7**

Silver

(c) Elephant.	(1) *Śrī Ha*(*rsha*) (2) *deva*.	*Ibid.* 23. **IV. 8**

Copper

(d) Seated goddess ; to l. *Ha* ; to r. *rsha rā*(*ja*).	Standing king ; *deva*.	*CCIM*, XXVII. 16. **IV. 9**

(vi) Second Lohara Dynasty

1. UCHCHALA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; to l. *Uchcha* ; to r. *la*.	Standing king ; *deva*.	*CMI*, V. 25 **IV. 10**

2. SALHAṆA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; to l. *Sa* ; to r. *llarā*.	Standing king ; *ja deva*.	*Ibid*. 27 **IV. 11**

3. SUSSALA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; to l. *Su* ; to r. *ssala*.	Standing king.	*Ibid*. 26 **IV. 12**

4. JAYASIṀHADEVA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; to l. *Śrī Jaya* ; to r. *Siṁha* (*rā*).	Standing king; *ja* (*deva*).	*Ibid*. 28 **V. 1**
(b) Seated goddess ; to l. *Śrī*...; to r. *Jaya*.	Standing king ; to l. *Siṁha* ; to r. *deva*.	*Ibid*. 29 **V. 2**
(c) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī Jayasiṁha* ; to r. *ratnadeva*.	Standing king.	*Ibid*. 29 A **V. 3**

5. GULHAṆA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess ; to l. *Śrī Gu* ; to r. *lhaṇa*.	Standing king.	*Ibid*. 35 **V. 4**

6. PARAMĀNUKA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī Pa*; to r. *ra* (*mānuka*).	Standing king; *deva.*	*Ibid.* 30 **V. 5**

7. VANTIDEVA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *A* (? *Śrī*); to r. *vanti.*	Standing king; *deva.*	*Ibid.* 31 **V. 6**

(vii) Dynasty of Vuppadeva

1. JĀGADEVA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Ja*; to r. *ga*	Standing king; *deva.*	*Ibid.* 32 **V. 7**

2. RĀJADEVA

Copper

(a) Seated goddess; to l. *Śrī*; to r. *rāja*	Standing king; *deva.*	*Ibid.* 33 **V. 8**

(II) INDO-SASSANIAN COINS

TYPE 1

Silver

(a) Bust of king; some semblance of a portrait; dots representing some parts of face.	Rude fire-altar; traces of attendants.	*CCIM*, XXV. 8. **VI. 1**
(b) Rude imitation of Sassanian bust; lines and curves.	Rude fire-altar; lines and dots.	*CMI*, VI. 7; *CCIM*, XXV. 11, 12. **VI. 2, 3, 4**
(c) More degraded bust.	More degraded fire-altar.	*CCIM*, XXV. 13. **VI. 5**

TYPE 2

Silver

(a) Bust with fine features.	Rude fire-altar with attendants.	*CMI*, VI.13. **VI. 6**
(b) Conventionalised.		*Ibid.* 15 **VI. 7**
(c) More conventionalised.		*Ibid.* 14 **VI. 8**
(d) Further more conventionalised.		*Ibid.* 19 **VI. 9**

TYPE 3

Silver

(a) Caricature of bust.	Caricature of fire-altar.	*CCIM*, XXV. 9. **VI. 10**

TYPE 4

Silver

(a) See the coin of Vigrahapāla under Gurjara-Pratihāras.

(i) Associated types

TYPE 1

Silver

(a) See the coin of Bhoja under Gurjara-Pratihāras.

(b) See the coin of Vināyakapāla under Gurjara-Pratihāras.

TYPE 2[1]

(a) As above with the legend *Śrī Dāman.*	*ARASI*, 1913-4, p. 255.
(b) As above with the legend *Śrī Chhittarāja Deva.*	Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 805.
(c) As above with the legend *Śrīla*, *Śrīhara*, *Śrīga*, *Śrivara* or *Śribha.*	*JNSI*, VIII, p. 157, n. 1.

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[1] The details of this type are not available.

TYPE 3

Silver

(a) Very rude head.	(1) *Śrī Oṁ* (2) *kāra* lines indicating fire-altar.	*JNSI*, XIII, Pl. IX. 6. **VI. 11**
(b) As above.	*Oṁ* within lines and dots representing fire-altar.	*Ibid.* 7. **VI. 12**

Copper

(c) As (a) above.		*Ibid.*, p. 205 ; *CCIM*, XXV. 15. **VI. 13**

Lead

(d) As above.	Indistinct figure (wheel ?).	*JNSI*, XIII, Pl. IX. 8. **VI. 14**

TYPE 4

Silver

(a) Very rude head ; lines and symbols around.	Soldier on a horse fighting with his sword against a foot-soldier, another fallen and a third behind him.	*JNSI*, VIII, Pl. V. A. 1, 3. **VI. 15, 16**

TYPE 5[1]

Copper

(a) Horseman.	*Śrī Tri-vi* ; below prostrate man lying on stomach.	*CMI*, VI. 22. **VII. 1**
(b) Horseman with a second behind.	As above.	*Ibid.* 23. **VII. 2**

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[1] Coins on which Cunningham reads *Śrī Somaladeva* are to be assigned to the Chāhamāna queen Somaladevī.

TYPE 6

Copper

(a) Śiva and his bull.	Crude fire-altar ; an attendant on each side.	*Ibid.* 6 **VII. 3**
(b) As above.	Crude fire-altar ; a wheel to l. and an attendant to r.	*Ibid.* 4 **VII. 4**
(c) As above.	Crude fire-altar ; an attendant to l. and *Bala* in monogram to r.	*Ibid.* 3 **VII. 5**
(d) As above.	Crude fire-altar ; a trident to r.	*Ibid.* 5 **VII. 6**
(e) As above.	Crude fire-altar ; *Rudra*	*Ibid.* 2 **VII. 7**
(f) As above.	As above ; *Tri.*	*Ibid.*, p. 48.
(g) As above.	Monogram *Kota* and two symbols.	*CCIM*, p. 264, no. 1.
(h) As above.	Monogram *Śruta.*	*Ibid.*, no. 16.
(i) Degraded outline of Siva (?).	As above.	*CMI*, VI. 1. **VII. 8**

(III) GURJARA-PRATIHĀRAS

1. VIGRAHAPĀLA

Silver

(a) Rude head; *Śrī* in front of it and *Vigra*(*ha*) below.	Rude fire-altar with attendants ; *sa* in the centre.	*CCIM*, XXV. 10. **VII. 9**

2. BHOJA

Silver

(a) Standing figure of Varāha (Boar incarnation of Vishṇu).	(1) *Śrīmadā*(*di*) (2) *Varāha* traces of Sassanian fire-altar.	*Ibid.* 18. **VII. 10**

3. VINĀYAKAPĀLA

Silver

(a) As above.	(1) (*Śrī*)*V*(*i*)*n*(*ā*) (2) (*ya*)*kap*(*āla*) (3) *deva.*	*JNSI*, X, Pl. II. 3; *Ibid.*, XXVI, Pl. IV. 10. **VII. 11**

(i) Pratihāras of Gwalior

MALAYAVARMAN[1]

Copper

(a) Rude copy of horseman.	(1) *Śrī-Mala* (2) *yava*(*r*)*mma* (3) (*de*)*va* date (12)83.	*CMI*, X. 2. **VII. 12**
(b) As above.	(1) *Śrīman-Ma*(*la*) (2) *yava*(*r*)*m*(*ma*) (3) *deva.*	*JNSI*, IV, Pl. II. 18 **VII. 13**

(IV) PĀLAS

DEVAPĀLA

Gold

King wearing dhotī and ornaments, *tribhaṅga* pose, arrow in r. and bow in l. hand. To left (1) *Śrī* (2) *ma* (3) *Harshaḥ* (4) *va* To right (1) *ndeva* (2) *pāla.*	Lakshmī seated cross legged on double lotus, holding lotus plants in her hands; to l. *Śri.*	*JNSI*, XIII, p. 123. **VII. 14**

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[1] Cunningham and Smith place him under kings of Narwar.

(V) JAJAPELLA DYNASTY OF NARWAR

1. CHĀHAḌADEVA

Copper

(a)	(1) (*Śrī*)*ma*(*ta*) (2) (*Chā*)*haḍadeva* date 129 (X).	Bull ; legend not clear.	*CMI*, X. 5. **VII. 15**
(b)	Horseman ; *Śrī-Chāhaḍadeva.*	Bull ; *Asāpurī* *Śrī Sāmantadeva.*	*CCIM*, p. 262 ; *NC*, 1956, Pl. XXIII. 419-20. **VII. 16**
(c)	Horseman ; *Śrī-Chāhaḍadeva.*	Bull ; *Asāpurī* *Śrī-Samasoraladeva.*	*CMI*, X. 4. **VII. 17**

2. ĀSALLADEVA

Copper

(a)	Rude horseman.	(1) (*Śrī*)*ma*(*da*) (2) *salade*(*va*) date.	*Ibid.* 8. **VIII. 1**

3. GAṆAPATIDEVA

Copper

(a)	Rude horseman.	(1) (*Śrī*)*ma*(*ta*) (b) *Gaṇapa*(*ti*) (3) (*deva*). Date.	*Ibid.* 10. **VIII. 2**

(VI) ŚŪRASENA DYNASTY

1. VATSADĀMAN

Gold

(a)	Cow to l. suckling a calf ; *Śrī-Vatsadāmanārāyaṇa.*	Varāha trampling demons	*NC*, 1937, Pl. XXXV. 5 **VIII. 3**

2. VAPPUKA

Gold

(a) Bull seated before Śivaliṅga ; below a man prostrating himself ; *Śrī Vopparāja.*	Cow to l. suckling a calf.	*NC*, 1933, p. 139 (no. 1). **VIII. 4**
(b) As above ; *Śrī Voppa.*	Cow to r. suckling a calf.	*JASB*, XXIII, Numismatic Supplement, XL, no.273, p. 14. **VIII. 5**

3. KEŚAVA[1]

Gold

(a) Recumbent king in high peaked cap worshipping Śivaliṅga with folded hands; *Śrī Kasava.*	Cow to l. suckling a calf.	*NC*, 1933, p. 139 (no. 2) **VIII. 6**

(VII) SHĀHIS OF OHIND

1. KAMARA(= KMALŪ ?)

Copper

(a) Peacock to l. with outspread wings	Lion to l; *Śrī Kamara.*	*CMI*, VII. 1 **VIII. 7**

2. VAKKADEVA

Copper

(a) Elephant to l ; *Śrī Vakkadeva.*	Lion to r ; three pallets in front of him.	*CCIM*, XXVI. 4. **VIII. 8**
(b) Humped bull ; *Śrī Ve.*	Horseman.	*CMI*, VII. 4 **VIII. 9**

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[1] The name cannot be identified with any king of the dynasty.

3. SPALAPATIDEVA

Silver

(a)	Recumbent humped bull to l, trident on the flank, ornamental cloth over the body ; *Śrī Spalapati(deva)*.	Horseman to r, long lance in r. and uncertian object in l. hand. Behind him *gra* and before him legend in unknown characters.	*CCIM*, XXVI. 1. **VIII. 10**
(b)	As above ; legend complete.	As above ; in front of horse numerals 82 (or 814 ?).	*Ibid.*, XXVI. 2. **VIII. 11**

Copper

(c)	As above.	As above.	*Ibid.*, p. 247

4. SĀMANTADEVA

Silver

(a)	Recumbent humped bull as above ; *Śrī-Sāmantadeva.*	Horseman with lance in r. hand ; behind him *bhī* ; over horse's head a doubtful letter ; in front of the horse numerals 814.	*CMI*, VII.10. **VIII. 12**
(b)	As above ; *Śrī-Sāmanta(deva)*.	Forepart of horse with horseman ; plume on horse's head. Figures in front of the horse not clear.	*Ibid.* 11. **VIII. 13**

Copper

(c)	Upper half of the recumbent humped bull ; *Śrī-Sāmantadeva.*	Horseman with lance.	*Ibid.* 14. **VIII. 14**
(d)	Standing elephant; *Śrī-Sāmantadeva.*	Lion.	*Ibid.* 12. **VIII 15**

5. KHUDAVAYAKA

Silver

(a)	Recumbent humped bull ; *Śrī-Khudavayakaḥ.*	Horseman with lance (?) ; behind him *pa* (?) and in front of him a letter (?).	*Ibid.* 15 **IX. 1**

6. BHĪMADEVA

Silver

(a) Recumbent humped bull ; *Śrī-Bhīmadeva.*	Horseman with lance ; indistinct letters behind and in front of him ; indistinct figures in front of the horse.	*Ibid.* 17. **IX. 2**

Copper

(b) Elephant to l ; *Śrī-Bhīmadeva.*	Lion to r.	*Ibid.* 18[1]. **IX. 3**

(VIII) KALACHURIS

(i) Kalachuris of Tripuri

GĀṄGEYADEVA

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmad Gā-* (2) *ṅgeya-de-* (3) *vaḥ.*	Within a circle of dots four-armed Lakshmī, nimbate, sitting cross-legged with lotuses in upper hands and lower hands spread out at her sides.	*CMI*,VIII.1. **IX. 4**

Silver

(b) (1) *Śrīmad-Gā-* (2) *ṅgeyade-* (3) *vaḥ.*	As above.	*Ibid.* 4. **IX. 5**

Copper

(c) (1) *Śrīmad-Gā-* (2) *ṅgeyade-* (3) (*vaḥ*).	As above.	*CCIM*, p. 253.

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[1] The coins ascribed to Ashatapāla by Cunningham and to Aśatapāla by Smith are to be attributed to Amṛitapāla of Badaun.

(ii) Kalachuris of Ratanpur

1. KALIṄGARĀJA (OR KAMALARĀJA)

Copper

(a) (2) *rājade(va).*	Flying Hanumān.	*JNSI,* XVIII, Pl. VIII. 17 **IX. 6**
(b) (1) *Śrīmat-* (2) *jadeva.*	Lion attacking elephant.	*Ibid.* 16 **IX. 7**

2. JĀJALLADEVA I (or II)

Gold

(a) Inside a circle of dots (1) *Śrīmaj-(Jā)* (2) *jallade* (3) *va.*	Inside a circe of dots lion with upraised tail jumping on prostrate elephant below.	*CII,* IV. A5 **IX. 8**
(b) As above (1) *Śrīmaj-Jā* (2) *jalla-deva.*	As above.	*CCIM,* XXVI. 12 **IX. 9**
(c) As above (1) *Śrīmaj-Jā* (2) *jallade-.*	As above.	*CII,* IV. A6 **IX. 10**

Copper

(d) (1) *Śrīmaj-Jā* (2) *jalladeva*	As above.	*CMI,* VIII. 9, 10. **IX. 11**
(e) (1) *Śrīmaj-J(ā)* (2) *(jallade-).*	Two-armed Hanumān to l. trampling a demon.	*CII,* IV.A7. **IX. 12**

3. RATNADEVA II (or III)

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmad-Ra-* (2) *tnadeva.*	Lion attacking elephant.	*CCIM,* XXVI. 13. **IX. 13**

Copper

(b) As above.	As above.	*CMI,* VIII. 11. **IX. 14**
(c) As above.	Lion to r. with upraised tail.	*CII,* IV.A 10. **IX. 15**
(d) (1) *(Śrī)mad-Ra-* (2) *(tna)deva.*	A sheathed dagger below indistinct object.	*Ibid.* 11. **IX. 16**

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4. PṚITHVĪDEVA II (or I)

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi-* (2) *thvīdeva.*	Lion to r. with upraised tail with prostrate elephant below.	*CCIM,* XXVI. 11 **IX. 17**
(b) (1) *Śrīmat-(Pṛi)* (2) *(th)vīdeva.*	As above.	*CII,* IV. A 13 **IX. 18**

Silver

(c) (1) *Śrīmat-(Pṛi)* (2) *(thvīde)(va).*	Shapeless object.	*Ibid.* 14 **IX. 19**

Copper

(d) (1) *Śrīmat-(Pṛi)* (2) *thvīdeva.*	Lion with raised tail.	*Ibid.* 18 **IX. 20**
(e) (1) *Śrīmat-(Pṛi)* (2) *thvīde(va).*	Hanumān to l. trampling a demon on l, attendant on r.	*Ibid.* 17 **X. 1**
(f) (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi* (2) *(thvī)de(va).*	Hanumān to r. demon on l.	*Ibid.* 16 **X. 2**
(g) (1) *Śrīmat-Pṛi* (2) *thvīde(va).*	Four-armed Hanumān to l; mace in upper l. hand and something in upper r; the other two hands seizing two demons on two sides, the r. one off flan and the l. being trampled under r. foot.	*Ibid.* 15 **X. 3**

5. PRATĀPAMALLA

Copper

(a) (1) *Śrīmat-Pra-* (2) *tāpama* (3) *(lla)deva.*	Lion with prostrate elephant below.	*Ibid.* 19. **X. 4**
(b) (1) *Śrīmat-Pra-* (2) *tāpama* (3) *(lla)deva* some marks below.	Indistinct device.	*Ibid.* 20. **X. 5**

(IX) CHANDELLAS

1. KĪRTIVARMAN

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmat-Kī-* (2) *rttivarmma-* (3) *deva.*	Four armed seated Lakshmī.	*CMI*, VIII. 12. **X. 6**

2. SALLAKSHAṆAVARMAN (or HALLAKSHAṆAVARMAN)

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmat-Ha-* (2) *llakshaṇa-va-* (3) *(rmma)-deva.*	Four armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 14. **X. 7**

Copper

(b) (1) *Śrīmat-Ha-* (2) *llakshaṇa-va-* (3) *(rmma)-deva.*	Hanumān under a canopy.	*Ibid.* 16. **X. 8**

3. JAYAVARMAN

Copper

(a) (1) *Śrīmaj-Ja-* (2) *ya-varmma-* (3) *(deva).*	Hanumān under a canopy.	*Ibid.* 17. **X. 9**
(b) (1) *Śrīmaj (Ja)* (2) *yava(r)ma* (3) *deva.*	Flying Hanumān.	*JNSI*, IV, Pl. II. 17. **X. 10**

4. PṚITHVĪVARMAN

Copper

(a) (1) *(Śrī)mat-Pṛi (thvī)* (2) *varmma* (3) *(deva).*	Hanumān under a canopy.	*CMI*, VIII. 18. **X. 11**

5. MADANAVARMAN

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīma(n)-Ma-* (2) *danavarmma-* (3) *deva.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 19. **X. 12**

Silver

(b)	(1) *Śrīma(n)-Ma-* (2) *danavarmma* (3) (*deva*).	As above.	*JNSI*, XXVII, Pl. V. 2. **X. 13**

Copper

(c)	(1) (*Śrī*)*ma*(*n*)*-Ma-* (2) (*da*)*-nava*(*rmma*) (3) (*deva*).	Hanumān under a canopy.	*CMI*, VIII. 21. **X. 14**
(d)	*Śrīman-Madana-va*(*rmman*).	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	Bose, *Candellas*, p.183.[1]

6. PARAMARDI

Gold

(a)	(1) *Śrīmat-Pa* (2) *rama*(*r*)*ddi*.	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*CCIM*, XXVI. 8. **X. 15**

7. TRAILOKYAVARMAN

Gold

(a)	(1) *Śrīmat-Trai* (2) *lokya-va* (3) (*r*)*mma-deva*.	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid*. 9. **X. 16**

8. VĪRAVARMAN

Gold

(a)	(1) *Śrīmad-Vī-* (2) *rava*(*r*)*mma-ha*(*?dha*)*-* (3) *radeva*.	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid*. 10. **X. 17**

Copper

(b)	*Śrīmad-Vīravarmma-deva*.	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	Bose, *Candellas*, p.183[1]

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[1] The details of the obverse of the coin are not known.

(X) GĀHAḌAVĀLAS

1. MADANAPĀLA

Silver

(a)	Horseman ; (*Śrī*) *Madana* (*pāladeva*).	Bull ; *Mādhava* *Śrī-Sāma* (*nta*).	*CMI*, IX.15. **X. 18**

2. GOVINDACHANDRA

Gold

(a)	(1) *Śrīmad-Go* (2) *vindachandra* (3) *deva* Trident.	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 16. **XI. 1**

Copper

(b)	(1) *Śrīmad-Go* (2) *vindachandra* (3) (*deva*).	Seated goddess.	*CCIM*, p. 261.

(XI) RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS OF BADAUN

AMṚITAPĀLA

Silver

(a)	Bull ; (*Śrī*) *Amṛita-p*(*āla*).	Horseman.	*CCIM*, XXVI. 6. **XI. 2**

Copper

(b)	Bull ; *Śrī-Amṛita*(*pāla*).	Horseman.	*CMI*,VII 20 **XI. 3**

(XII) YADUS OF BAYANA (? TOMARAS)

1. AJAYAPĀLA

Silver

(a)	(1) *Śrī-Aja-* (2) *yapāla* (3) *deva.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*CMI*, IX.2 **XI. 4**

2. KUMĀRAPĀLA

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīmat-Ku* (2) *mārapāla* (3) *devaḥ.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 3 **XI. 5**

3. SALLAKSHAṆAPĀLA (or SAHANAPĀLA)

Billon

(a) Horseman ; *Śrī Sallakshaṇa-pāladeva.*	Bull ; *Śrī Sāmantadeva.*	*Ibid.* 1 **XI. 6**

4. AṆAṄGAPĀLA

Billon

(a) Horseman ; (*Śrī*) *Aṇaṅgapā*(*la deva*).	Bull ; *Śrī-Sāmantade*(*va*).	*Ibid.* 4 **XI. 7**

5. MAHĪPĀLA

Gold

(a) (1) *Śrīman-Ma-* (2) *hīpāla.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 6 **XI. 8**

Silver

(b) (1) *Śrīman-Ma-* (2) *hīpāla* (3) *devaḥ.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*Ibid.* 7 ; *JNSI*, XXVII, Pl. III. 8. **XI. 9, 10**

Billon

(c) Bull ; *Mahīpāla.*	Very rude horseman.	*CCIM*, XXVI.16. **XI. 11**

(XIII) CHĀHAMĀNAS

1. AJAYARĀJA

Silver[1]

(a) (1) (*Śrī*) *Aja* (2) (*ya*)*deva.*	Four-armed seated Lakshmī.	*CMI*, IX.17. **XI. 12**

2. q. SOMALEKHĀ

Silver

(b) Rude head with lines and dots around.	(1) *Śrī So*(*ma*) (2) *lade*(*v*)*i.*	*Ibid.*, VI.10. **XI. 13**

Copper

(c) Rude horseman.	(1) *Śrī Soma* (2) *ladevī.*	*Ibid.* 11. **XII. 1**
(d) Galloping horseman.	(1) *Śri Soma* (2) *ladevī* (?)[2].	*Ibid.* 12. **XII. 2**

3. SOMEŚVARA

Billon

(a) Horseman ; *Soma.*	Bull ; *Sāmanta.*	*CCIM*, XXVI. 19. **XII. 3**

4. PṚITHVĪRĀJA III

Silver

(a) Horseman ; (*Śrī*) *Prithvīrājadeva.*	Bull ; *Asāpurī Śrī-- Sāmanta*(*deva*).	*Ibid.* 20. **XII. 4**
(b) Horseman ; *Śrī Prithvīrāja.*	Bull ; *Śrī Mahamada Sāma.*	*CMI*, IX.11. **XII. 5**

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[1] Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 87 ascribes it to king Jayachchandra of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty.

[2] Cunningham does not illustrate the reverse, hence the reading cannot be checked.

(i) Chāhamānas of Jalor

KĪRTTIPĀLA

Silver

(a)	Horseman ; (*Śrī*) *Kī(r)tti.*	Bull ; (*Śrī*) *Sāmantadeva.*	*CCIM,* XXVI. 22. **XII. 6**
(b)	Horseman ; (*Śrī*)*Kī(rtti).*	Bull ; *pāla Śrī-Sāmantadeva.*	*CMI,* IX.21. **XII. 7**

(ii) Chāhamānas of Nadol

KELHAṆA

Silver

(a)	Recumbent bull ; *Śrī Ka(lhaṇa).*	Horseman ; *Śrī...*	*Ibid.* 23. **XII. 8**

(iii) Chauhāns of Patna

RĀMADEVA (C. 1212-1271 A. D.)

Gold

(a)	Lion ; *śaṅkha* with dots below and above in front of it ; above a *chakra* and two short perpendicular lines.	(1) *Śrī Rāma* (2) *Patanā* 35.	*JNSI,* V, Pl. IV. B. No. 4. **XII. 9**

(XIV) MISCELLANEOUS

1. PĪPALA

Billon

(a)	Horseman ; (*Śrī*)*Pīpala.*	Recumbent humped bull ; *Kutāmāṇa* *Śrī-Sāma(ntadeva).*	*CCIM,* XXVI. 21. **XII. 10** Cunningham identifies him with Pīpaladeva of Máchhari (Alwar)

2. PITHI (? PṚITHVĪ)

Copper

(a)	Horseman ; *Pathi* (*Pithi*) followed by other letters.	Bull ; *Śrī-Sāmantadeva.*	*Ibid.*, p. 263.

3. BHIKHA (?)

Billon

(a)	Horseman ; *Bhikha.*	Bull ; (*Śrī*)(*Sā*)*mantadeva.*	*CMI*, IX.20 **XII. 11**

4. JĀ (?)

Billon

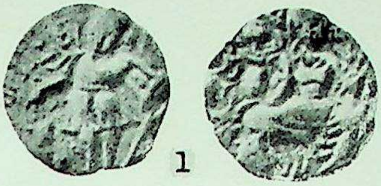
(a)	Horseman ; *Śrī Jā.*	Bull ; (*Śrī*) *Sāmanta*(*deva*).	*Ibid.* 19 **XII. 12**

5. HAMMĪRA

Billon

(a)	Horseman ; (*Śrī-Ha*)*mīraḥ.*	Bull ; *Mau Śrī Uvāme* (?).	*Ibid.* 22 **XII. 13**
(b)	As above.	As above ; *Sāu Prāma Sā.*	*JNSI,* XXVI, Pl. II. **XII. 14**

PLATE I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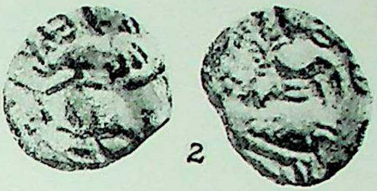
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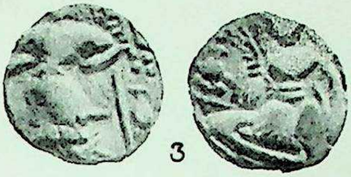
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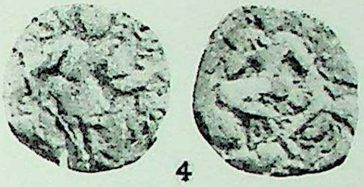
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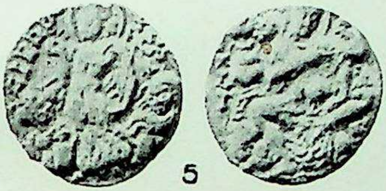
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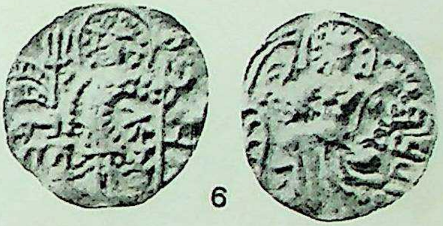
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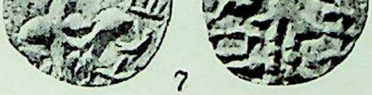
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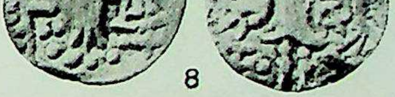
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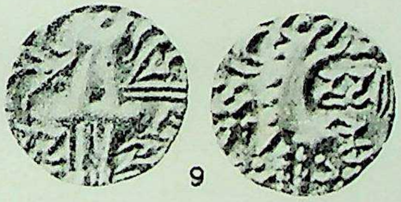
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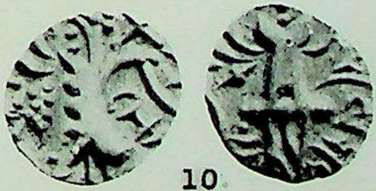
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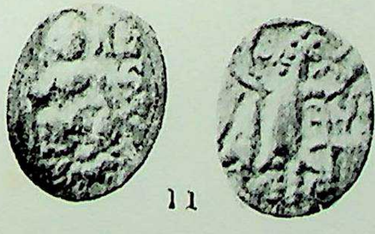
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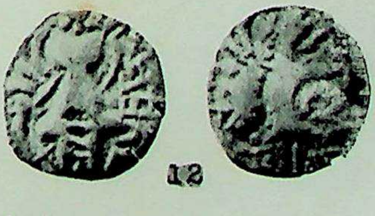
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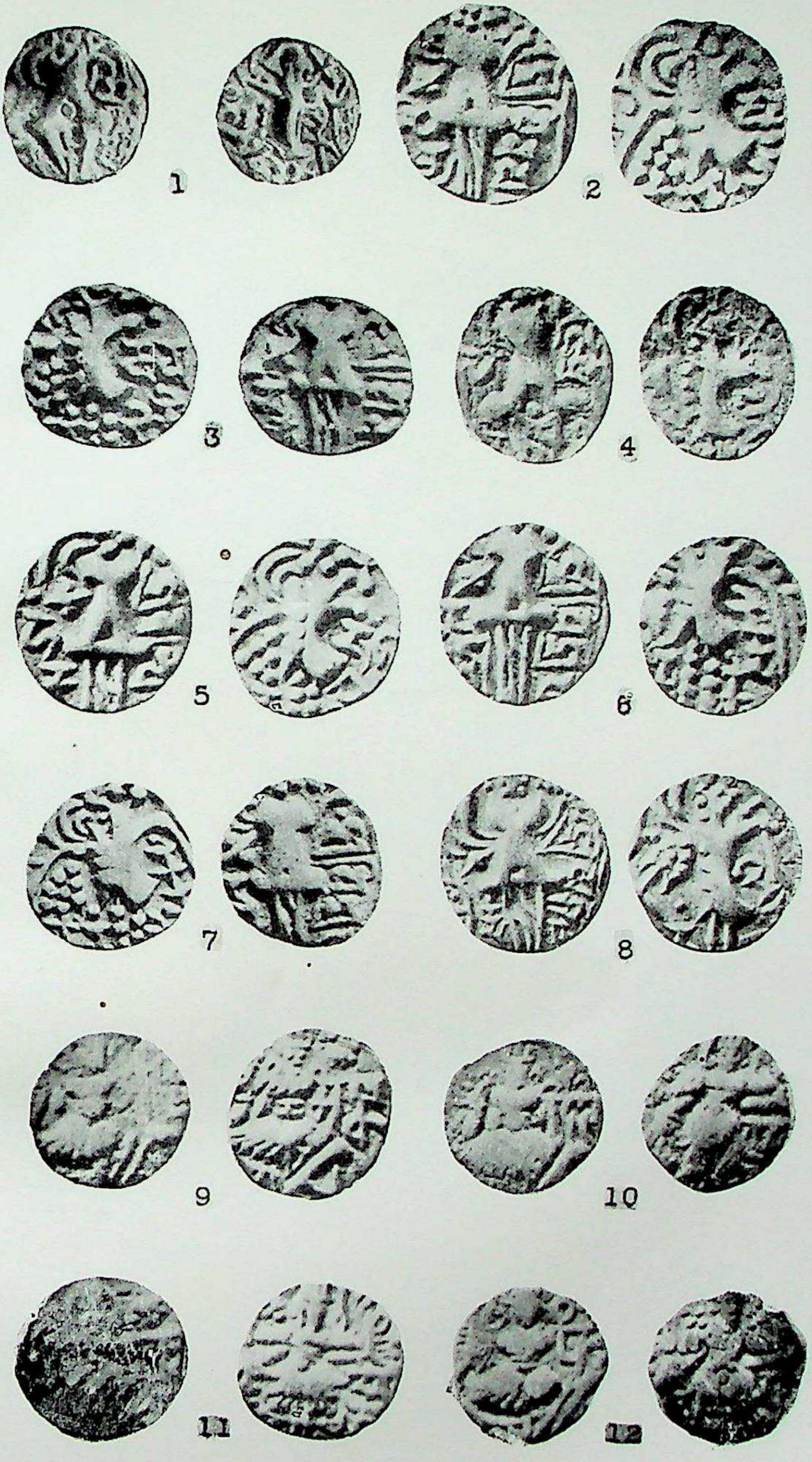
Coins of Kashmir

PLATE II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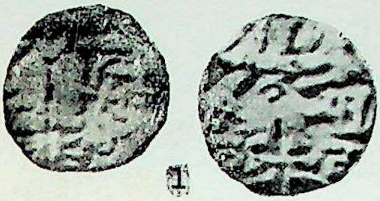
Coins of Kashmir

PLATE III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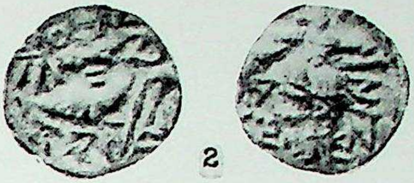
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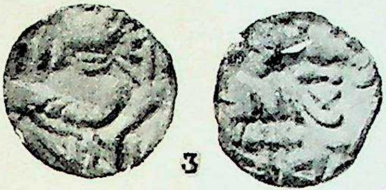
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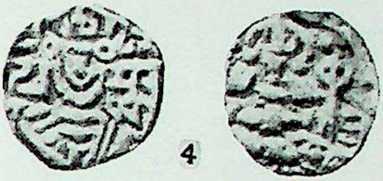
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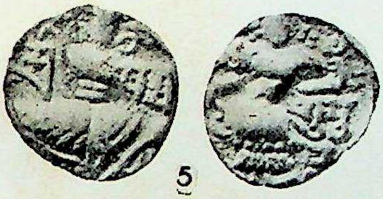
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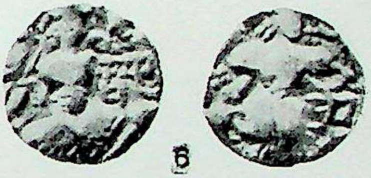
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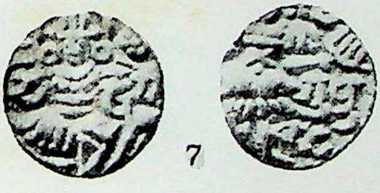
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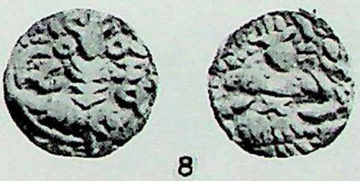
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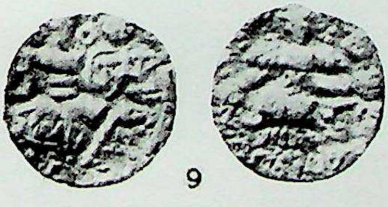
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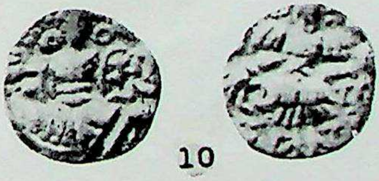
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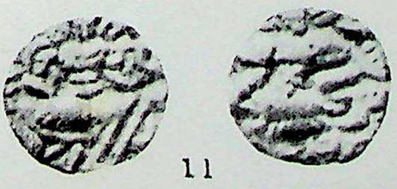
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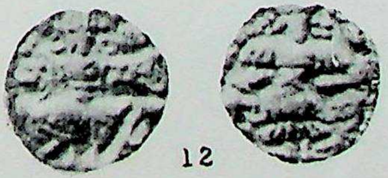
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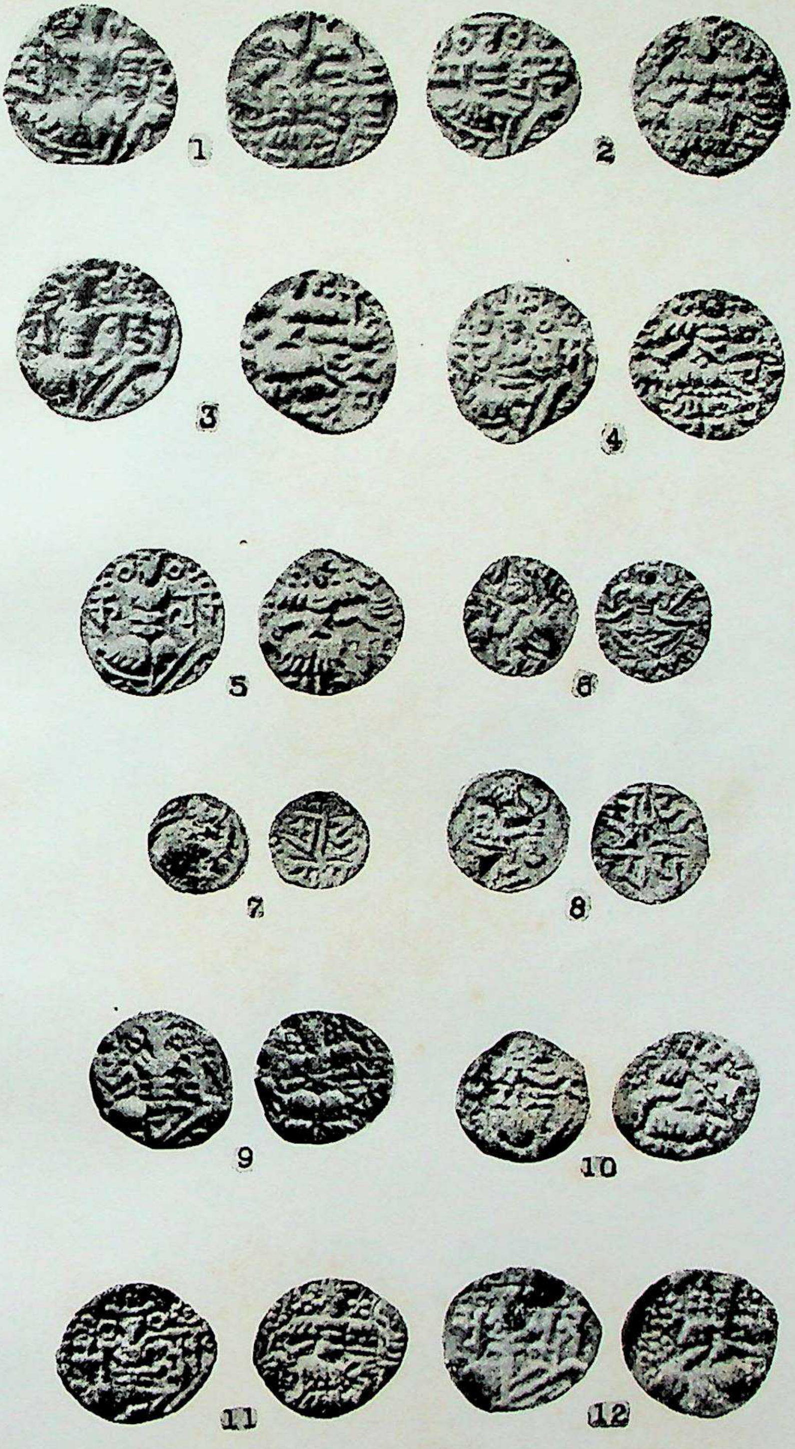
Coins of Kashmir

PLATE IV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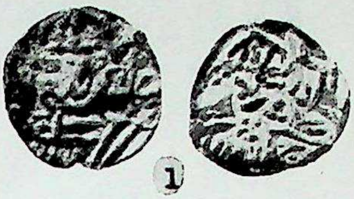
Coins of Kashmir

PLATE V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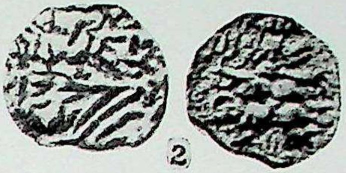
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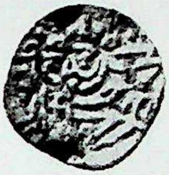
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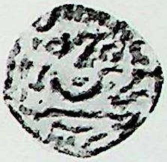
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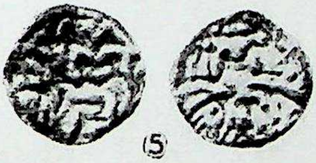
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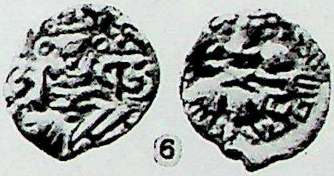
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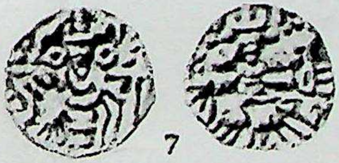
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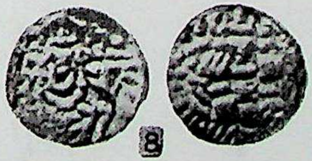
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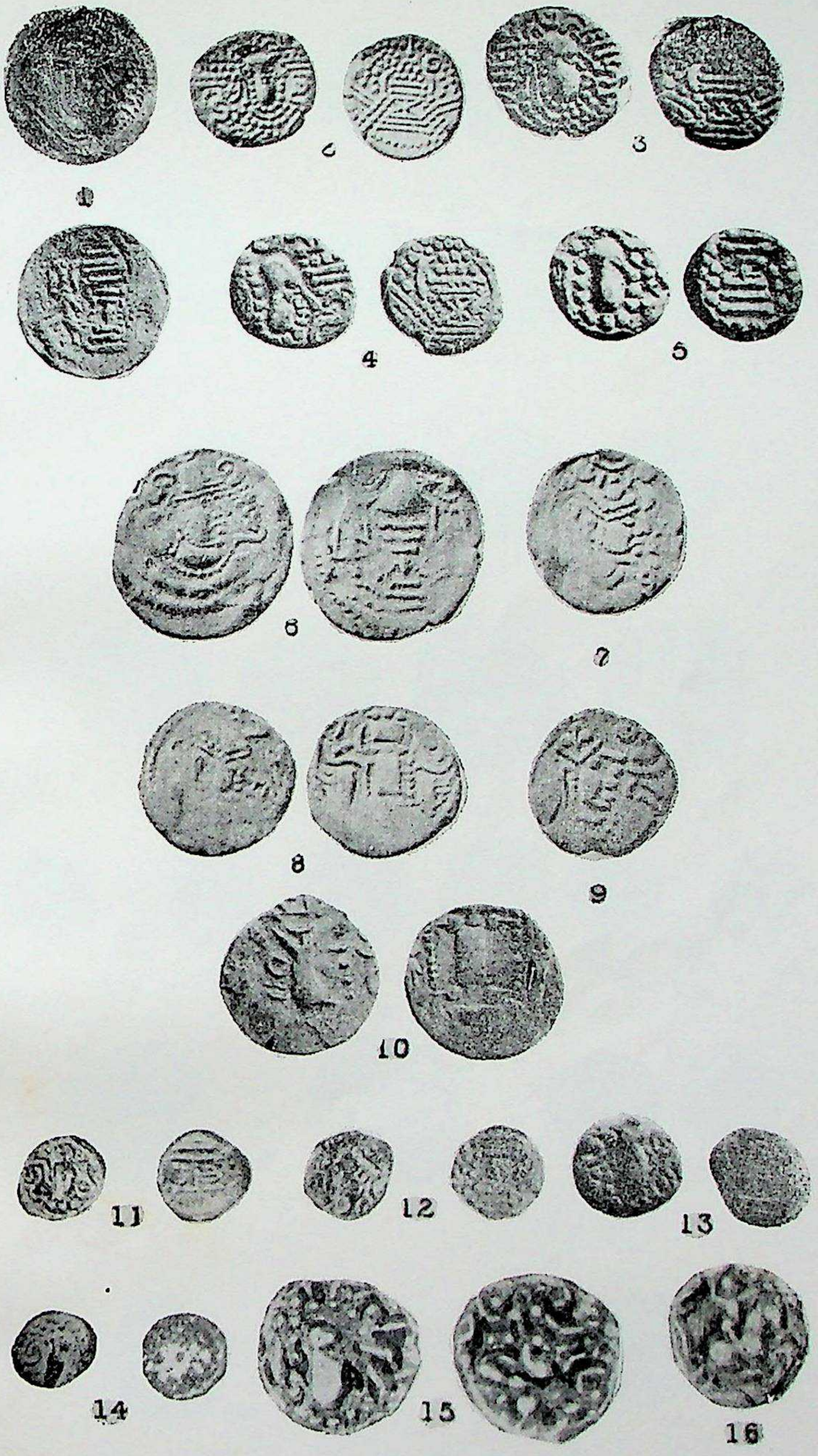
Coins of Kashmir

PLATE VI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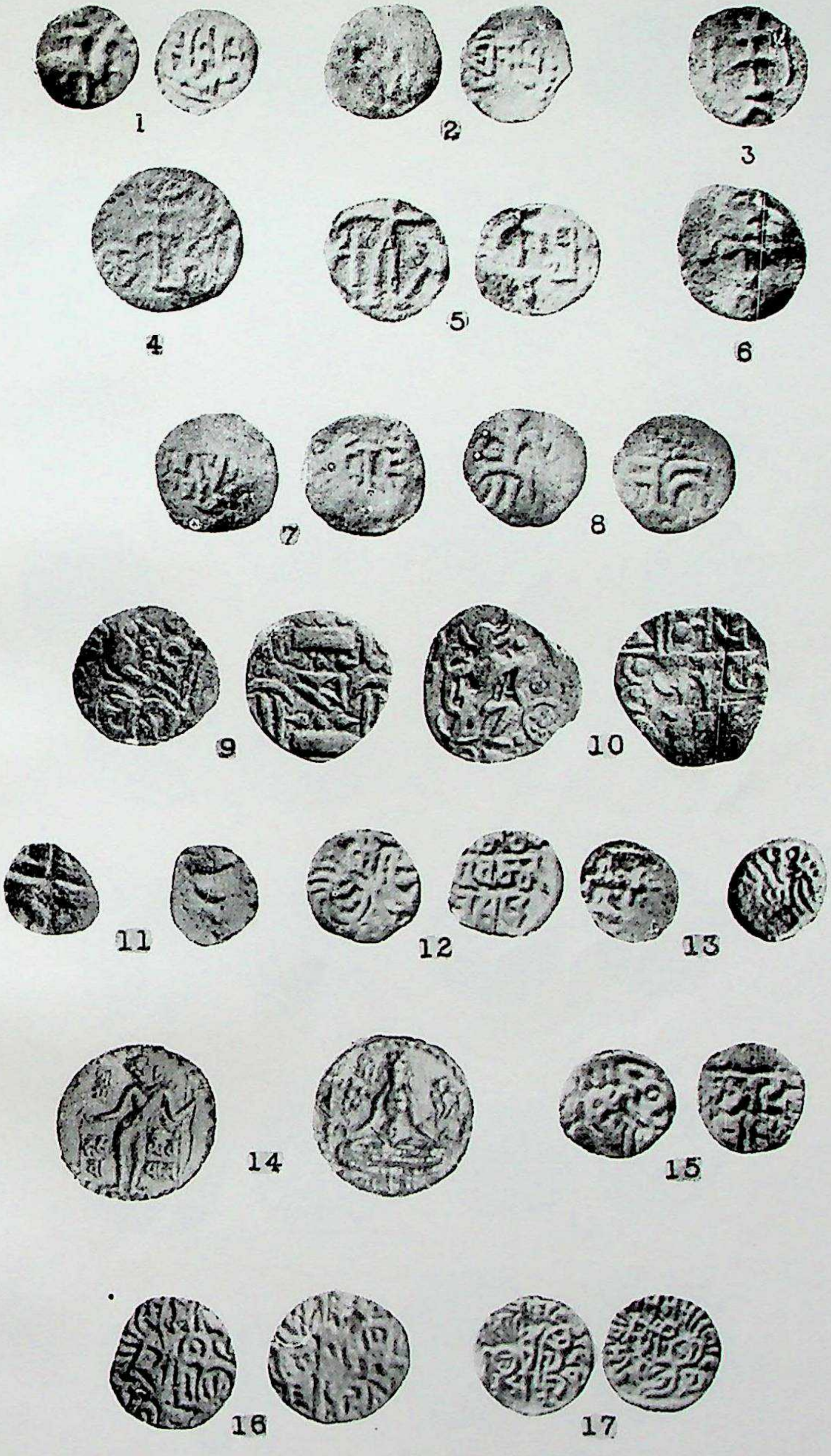
Indo-Sassanian coins

PLATE VII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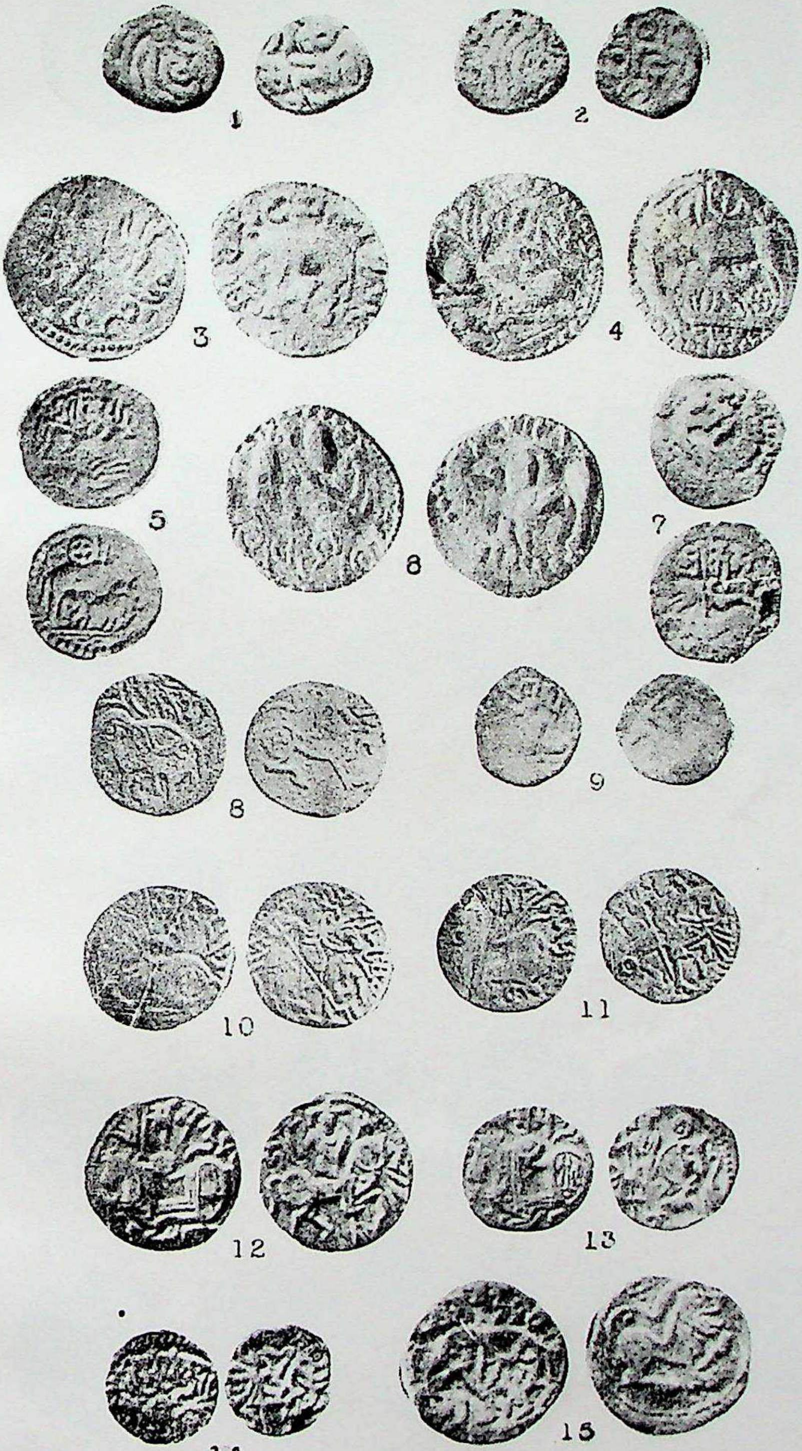
Indo-Sassanian, Gurjara-Pratihāra,
Pāla and Jajapella coins

PLATE VIII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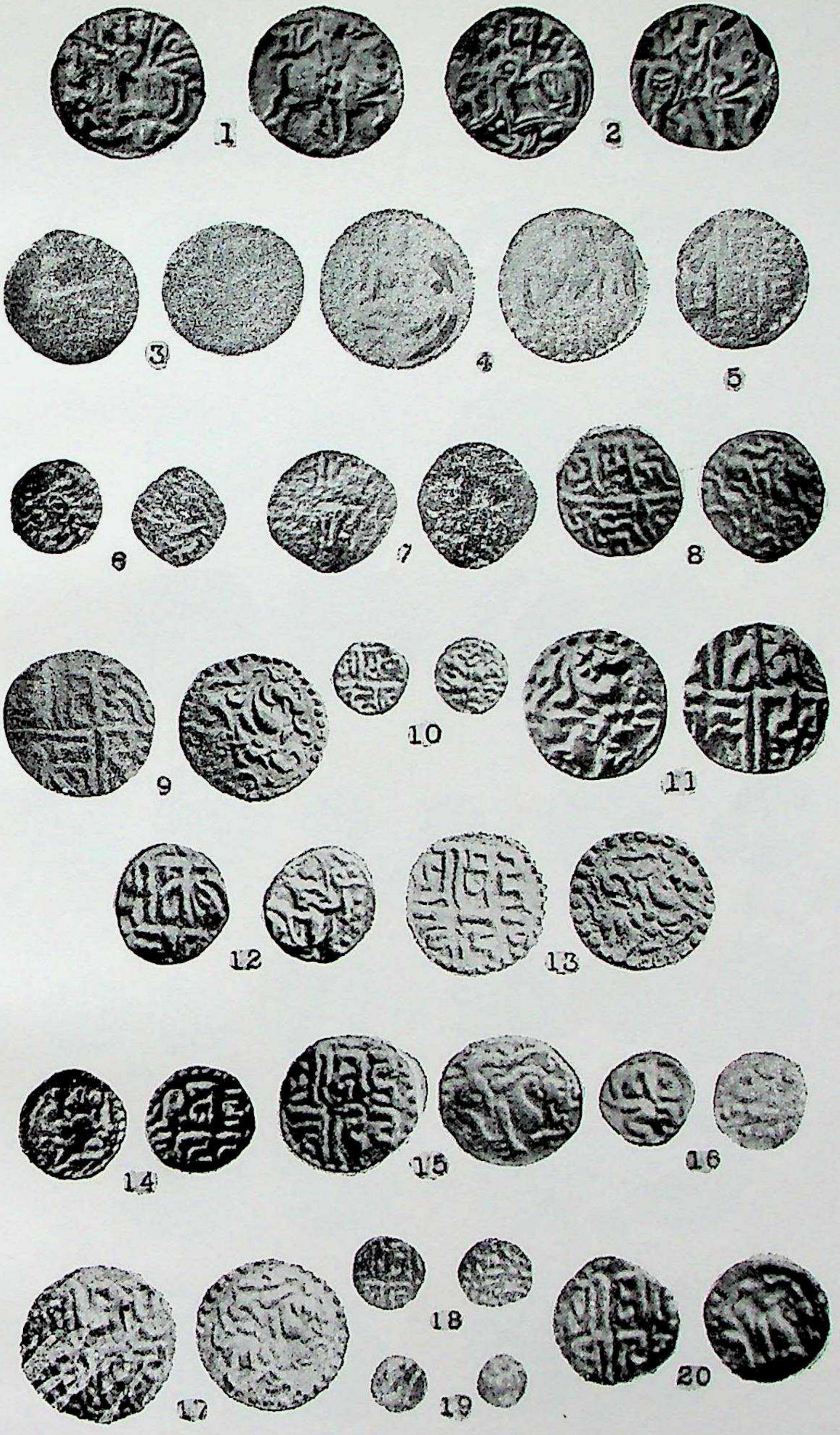
Jajapella, Śūrasena and Shāhi coins

PLATE IX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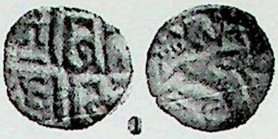
Shāhi and Kalachuri coins

PLATE X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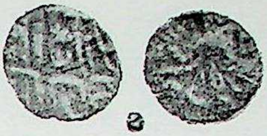
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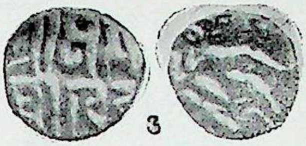
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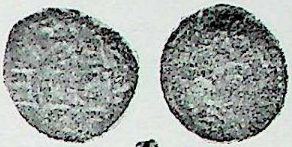
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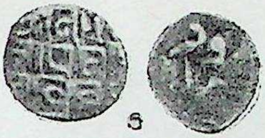
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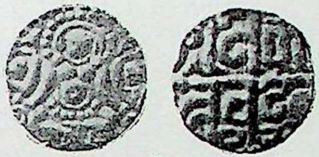
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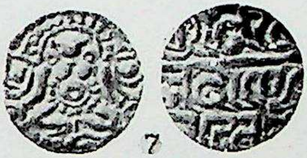
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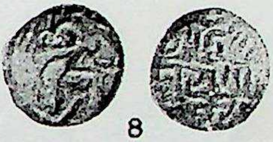
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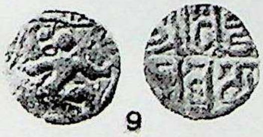
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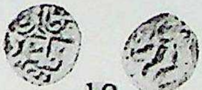
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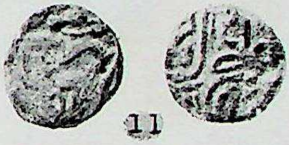
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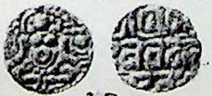
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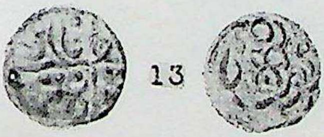
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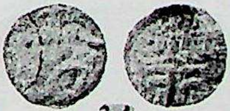
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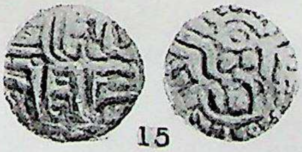
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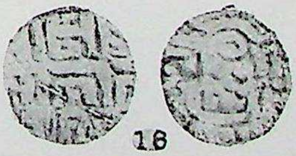
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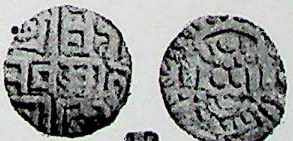
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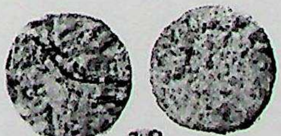
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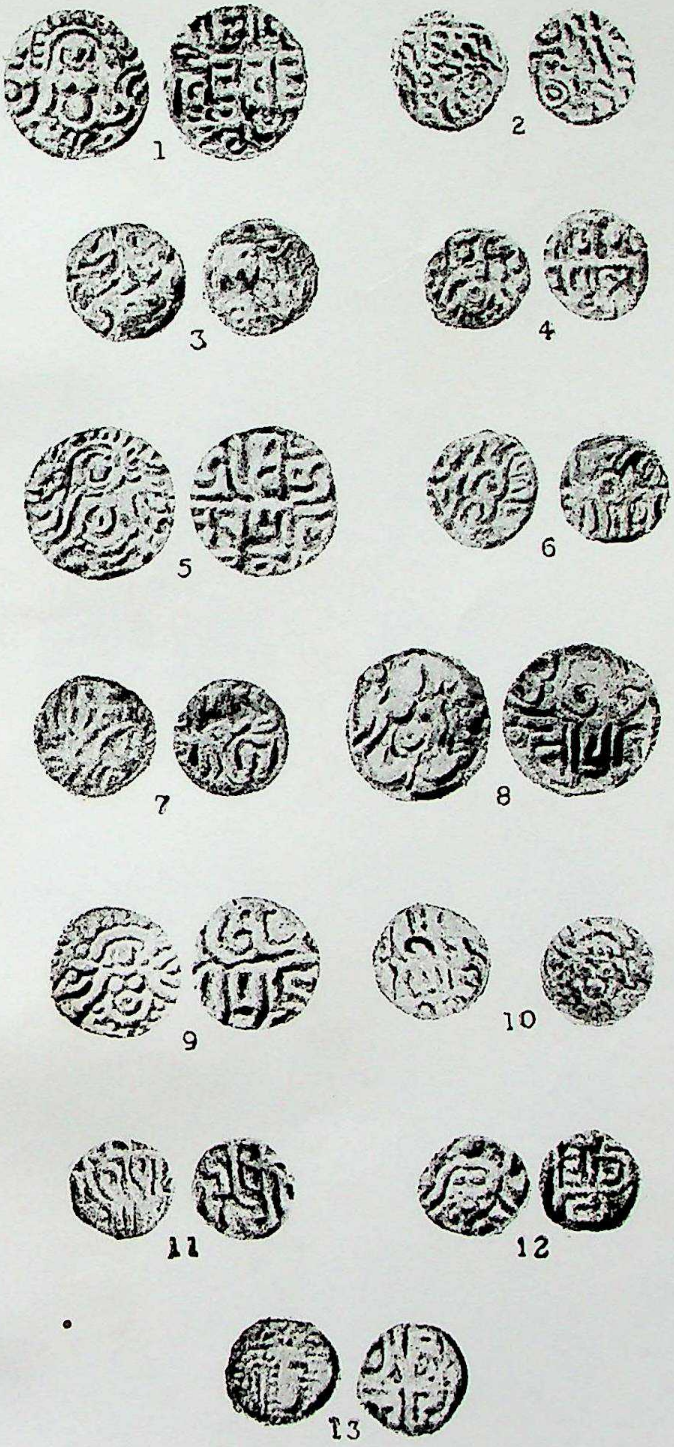
Kalachuri, Chandella and Gāhaḍavāla coins

PLATE XI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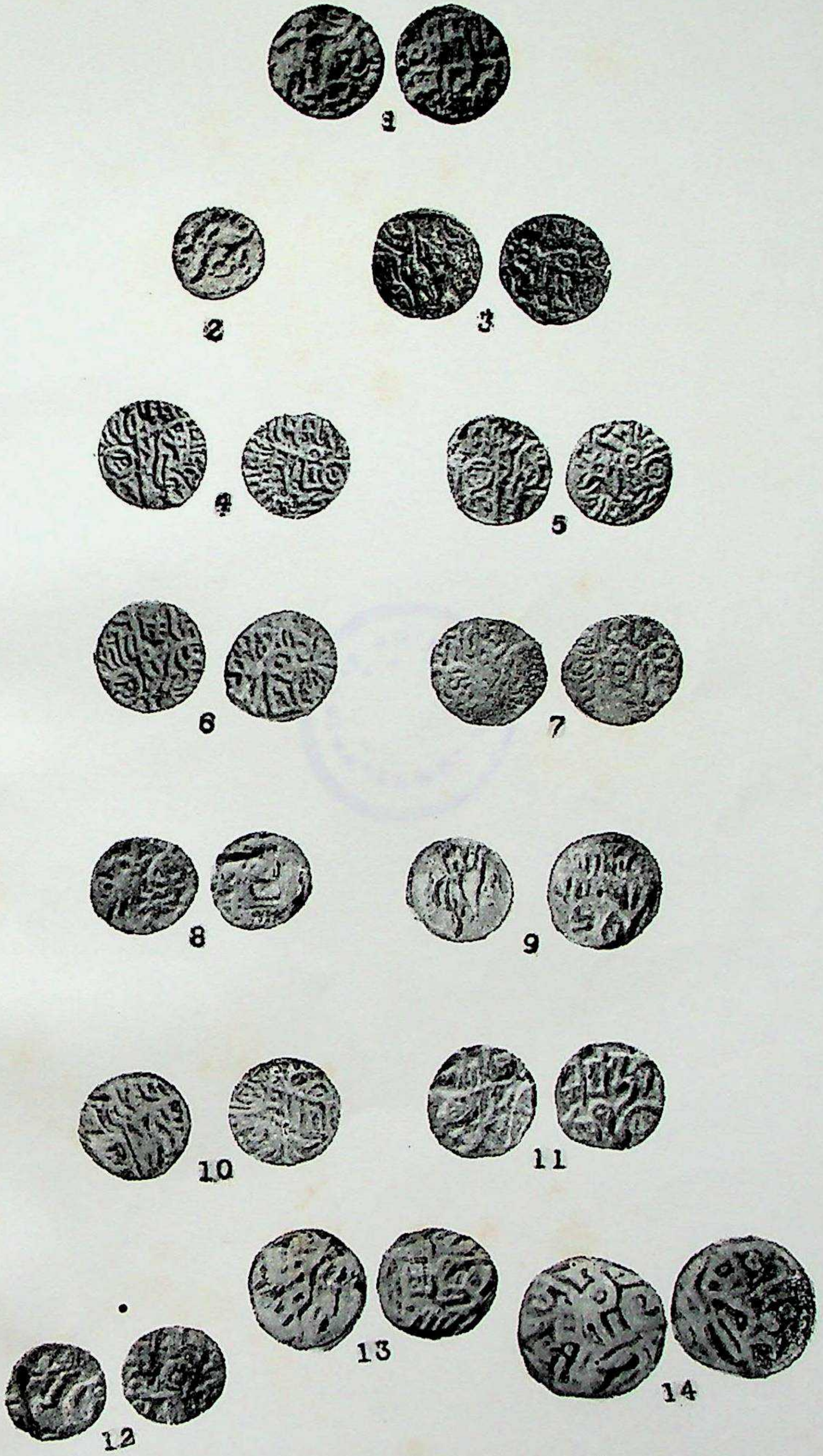
Coins of Gāhaḍavālas, Rāshṭrakūṭas of Badaun, Yadus of Bayana and Chāhamānas

PLATE XII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Chāhamāna and Miscellaneous coins

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